A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART I.—BĀBUR

BY

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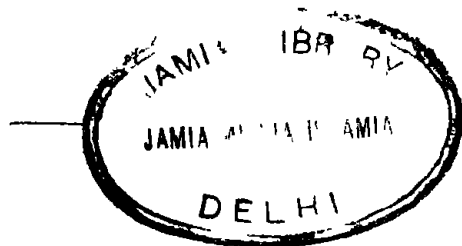
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To

The memory of

the late Prof. E. G. Browne

To

Whose suggestion and encouragement

this work owes its

existence.

نوروز و نوبهار و می و دلبری خوشست

بابر بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست

مھکا نہ ھوا کچھہ ھوس سانک و موتی

فقرا ھلیخہ بس بولغو سیک ور پانی و دونی

PREFACE

Some valuable works exist on the growth of Persian language and literature in Persia, but there was none available hitherto in a concise and connected form of any period in India. The present work, therefore, is an attempt to supply a long-felt need in that direction.

After the publication of Shiblī's "*Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*," there was a great move on foot in India to construct its literary history on similar lines under the title of "*Shi'r-ul-Hind*," so as to determine what part India played in the growth of Persian language and literature. Many attempts individual and otherwise were made and scholars selected, but it was, perhaps, deemed an unfathomable ocean, and hence no one even dipped into it.

I, too, had long felt it as a real need that India should have a comprehensive history of Persian language of its own, for although the tongue is the same as in Persia, yet the enormous difference of environment, which influenced the growth of the language in this country, justified a separate and complete record of all its achievements and vicissitudes from the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghaznī down to the very end of the Mughal rule. It is desirable not only as a guide to the people of Persia for the correct understanding of a large variety of terms, colloquial phrases, and compounds, that were introduced into the language from time to time, to suit the country's special requirements, but also it would furnish the youth of India with a handy record of the part played by the people of Hindūstān in the uplift of Persian literature under the patronage of the Muslim kings. An investigation of the circumstances which led to this difference in the common vocabulary, afforded an interesting field of research, and is dealt with under a separate heading in the body of my *Essay*. Here,

it will suffice to mention that the Persian language in our country grew chiefly under the influence of Hindī and local Prakrits; while in Persia its growth was watched by the Turkish, Arabic, French, and Russian idiom, which naturally gave rise to certain inevitable difference in the use of particular words and phrases, as also of their pronunciation, in India. Nevertheless, by a contrast of the general aspects of the style which obtained in the two countries in the corresponding periods, making all allowance for our colloquial usage, it is readily perceived that the Persian idiom was well kept up in India as late as the 19th century, until the overthrow of Persian by Urdu. Although it has to be admitted that some of our authors in the later Mughal age indulged themselves too much in the artistic display of words, and neglected to cultivate good taste, yet even their composition retained the integrity of Persian idiom. It may also be stated in this connection that the Persian Persian of today, as it appeared to me during my stay in Shīrāz, differs from the classical Persian of Sa'dī's or Hāfiz's time. It is, hence, desirable for every serious student of literature to go to Irān, and profitably spend there a few months to acquaint himself at first-hand with the up-to-date style of modern prose and poetry, which has been considerably affected all round by Turkish idiom, and by Russian, Arabic and French vocabulary.

In these pages I have dealt only with a limited period from Bābur down to the death of Akbar, which is one of the most important periods in the annals of India, and have tried to show the literary activities of people at the Deccan and the Mughal Courts, as compared with those of the contemporary Persia, which coincided with the Safawī period, on a wider and more comprehensive basis than could be found written in any European or Indian language. It seemed to me that the Mughal Court possessing a galaxy of brilliant scholars, deserved a separate and ampler record of its literary achievements. The materials are drawn from widely scattered books

(printed and manuscript), and journals and documents of attested authenticity, written in Persian, Turkī, Arabic or English, and accessible in the University Library, Cambridge, other College Libraries, the India Office, and the British Museum.

I have also embodied in this work the results of my two years' investigations at the M.A.O. College, 'Alīgarh, and the various Oriental Collections in India, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Habībganj Library of Maulānā Habībur-rahmān Khān Shirwānī, the College Library, and the State Library of H.H. the Nawāb of Rāmpūr. All this diverse information that was collected on the main points concerning the growth of Persian literature in the country, I have consolidated and put in this one book within the purview of the general reader. Side by side with tracing the development of Persian language I have also touched on Hindī, which, coming into contact with Persian, gave rise to Urdū, the present *lingua franca* of India. Some casual instances of the latter that could be picked up in Persian, Arabic, and Turkī documents, and the Indian literature dating from Bābur and even before his time down to the death of Akbar, I have carefully traced and noted. The present work, therefore, claims as well to embody some original contributions to the study of Urdū, giving a brief outline of its growth during these three reigns, with a rudimentary survey from the time of Sultān Mas'ūd, Mahmūd's second son and successor. Such an attempt has not been made before by any Indian or European scholar, and there is yet no work available on this subject in any language.

The data supplied in these pages will hence, I hope, be found of some value whenever a history of Urdū language comes to be written on a sounder basis. The only original work there is in that field, was done by the French writer Monsieur Garcin de Tassy who, however, confined himself to the comparatively modern and well-known period.

In short, I have attempted to construct the history of Persian Literature as it existed chiefly at the Mughal Court,

somewhat on the lines suggested by Shiblī's *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, and Professor Browne's more popular volume in the series—"*A History of Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.*"

It is impossible here to acknowledge in detail my obligation to others. I have endeavoured to do so in my footnotes. Nevertheless, the following gentlemen, I feel, I must single out for more particular thanks. For the suggestion of the subject and valuable hints as to its constitution, authorities, sources of information, and channels of inquiry, I am indebted to Professor E. G. Browne, to my Supervisor, Mr. F. W. Buckler, I owe constant help in the form of advice, guidance, and criticism, both in points of detail and in the general scheme of the work. He also very generously undertook the revision of the manuscript in parts, as they became ready, which virtually enabled me to finish the task in the limited time at my disposal. I have, too, to acknowledge help on certain points from Dr. R. A. Nicholson, Sir E. D. Ross, Prof. Rapson, and Mr. C. A. Storey; also, the unfailing kindness of the Librarians and their colleagues at the Cambridge University Library, the India Office Library, and the British Museum

One word more before I conclude. I have tried to make the book pleasant reading, and have not suffered it to be mere *dry research*, or what may be called *too scientific*, which affords little attraction for the cultured public, nor is it calculated to benefit the average student of literature inasmuch as it fails to carry him through that field of independent observation and judgment which is essential for the broadening of outlook, and constitutes real scholarship. I have, therefore, attempted to render the work as attractive and useful to my readers as possible without, in the least, impairing its historical value, and have freely discussed the opinions of Persian and English authors, criticising them where necessary, in the light of statistics collected from original sources and records of unassailable authority. The salient feature of this work is that bogus and counterfeit reports about India's

culture and literary advancement, which the alien and apparently less-informed writers accepted without hesitation, have been exploded, and in their stead, simple and unadulterated facts are supplied with their authorities at their back, so as to give the work a place among historical records, and make it a source of truth for the study of the lives of the authors or the progress of literature with which it deals.

My object is to convey to the inquiring mind a correct estimate of the culture at the Mughal Court. Originally I was expected to carry my researches down to the end of the reign of Aurangzēb, but I must confess my inability to do it for want of means and opportunity.

With these words I venture to present this work to the Public with pride and diffidence: pride, because it was my greatest privilege to do it; and diffidence, because of the many shortcomings of which, I am conscious, my work is so full.

CAMBRIDGE

18th April 1925.

MUHAMMAD 'ABDU'L GHANĪ.

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[From the Akbar Nāma—illustrated copy.]

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

[Bābur to Akbar]

PART I—BĀBUR

CHAPTER I

Bābur,[1] fifth in the line of descent from Timūr,[2] was the second great Mughal conqueror of Hindūstān, after his ancestor, who may well be accredited with the title of the *Founder*, as distinct from that of an *Empire-builder*[3] to which Humāyūn has palpably the best claim.

Bābur—second great Mughal conqueror of Hindūstān after Timūr.

He was born in 888 A.H., and the following verse in Persian was composed by Maulānā Husāmī Qarākōlī, who was of Turkish descent, to commemorate the date of this event:

His birth and accession to the throne of his father.

[4]چوں در شش محرم زاد آں شه مکرم
تاریخ مولدش هم آمد شش محرم

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1 For reasons in support of this spelling, *vide* supra, p. 50 fn. 1.

2 That this or Tamūr—not Tīmūr—is the correct form, is shown on p. 37 supra.

3 Cf. Rushbrook Williams' Bābur: An Empire-builder of the 16th Century.

4 Abul Fazl, Akbar-Nāma, Vol. 1, p 86. Calcutta, 1877.

Note.—Farishta gives it as follows:—

اندر شش محرم زاد آں شه مکرم
تاریخ مولدش هم آمد شش محرم

The slight variation of the word 'اندر' makes, however, not much difference. Briggs in his translation of Farishta

His relationship with Timūr—his ancestor,[1] and Aurangzēb—his great-great-great-grandson and the last powerful Mughal ruler of Hindūstān, may well be illustrated by the following table[2] :

Genealogical table of his relationship.

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puts the verse quite differently, remarking at the same time that it was composed after the death of Bābur to commemorate the date of his demise :—

روز شش محرم زاد آن شه مکرم
تاریخ وفاتش هم آمد شش محرم

There are four main objections to its genuineness :—

(*i*) It does not tally with the original Farishta.

(*ii*) Any attempt to compromise it with the version of Farishta and Abul Fazl is obviously hopeless, since it seems highly improbable for the same man to have been present at both the birth and the death of Bābur with the mature sense and wisdom of composing poems of such literary skill on both these occasions.

(*iii*) The second hemistich is faulty and does not agree with the metre, unless the word وفاتش be mercilessly broken and read as وف آتش which is both unnatural and unsound.

(*iv*) Bābur's death occurred in Jamada, 1, and not in the month of Muharram. (For this information I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Storey of the India Office.)

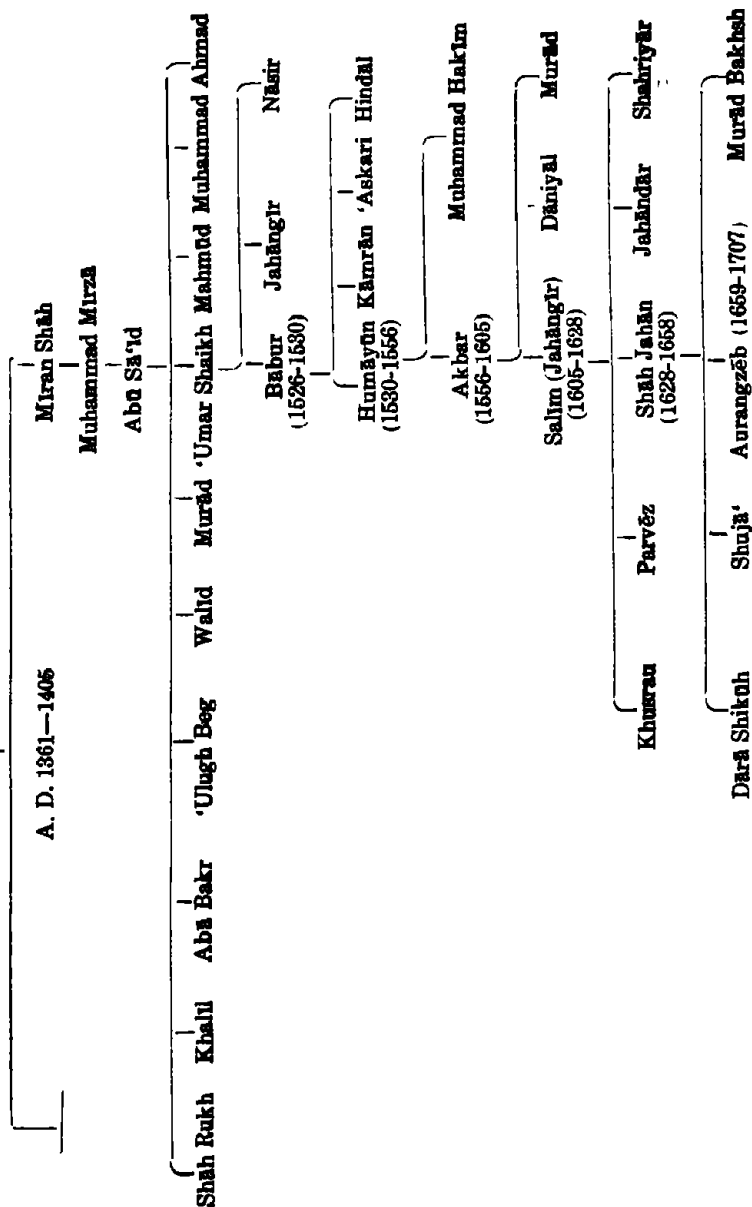
Briggs's authority, therefore, seems to be defective, and he has misplaced the whole thing.

1 The blood of the two great warriors of Central Asia mixed in Bābur's veins : on his father's side he descended from Timūr who was a Turk ; and on his mother's side from Changez who was a Mongol.

2 For reference see Farishta, Vol. 1, p. 353 and the following ; Akbar Nāma, p. 77 and the following ; and 'Amal-i-Sālih of Muhammad Sālih Kambuh (B. I.), pp. 1—30.'

TIMUR

A. D. 1361—1405

- Mīrān Shāh
  - Muhammad Mīrzā
    - Abū Sa‘īd
      - Shāh Rukh
      - Khalīl
      - Abā Bakr
      - ‘Ulugh Beg
      - Walīd
      - Murād
      - ‘Umar Shaikh
        - Bābur (1526-1530)
          - Humāyūn (1530-1556)
            - Akbar (1556-1605)
              - Salīm (Jahāngīr) (1605-1628)
                - Khusrau
                - Parvēz
                - Shāh Jahān (1628-1658)
                  - Dārā Shikūh
                  - Shujā‘
                  - Aurangzēb (1659-1707)
                  - Murād Bakhsh
                - Jahāndār
                - Shahriyār
              - Dāniyāl
              - Murād
            - Muhammad Hakīm
          - Kāmrān
          - ‘Askari
          - Hindāl
        - Jahāngīr
        - Nāsir
      - Mahmūd
      - Muhammad
      - Ahmad

This is one of the many instances of the popularity of Persian language with the Tārtars who even on private occasions like this seemed to prefer to speak and write in Persian.[1]

After his father 'Umar Shaikh's death, which took place in 899 A.H., by an accidental fall[2] from the roof of a pigeon-house, Bābur succeeded to his father's position as ruler of Farghāna when he was hardly 12 years old.

> "In the month of Ramazān of the year 899 (June 1494) and in the 12th year of my age, I became the ruler in the country of Farghāna."[3]

His assumption of the title of Zahīruddīn.

His father in his lifetime had entrusted to his care the affairs of Andijān[4] which was held as the capital of Farghāna probably since 'Umar Shaikh's time. Thus raised to the throne by the court nobles in 899 A.H., he received the title of Zahīruddīn[5] (the strengthener of the faith), which is probably the first instance of its kind among the Tārtars of the practice of the acceptance of Muslim titles, a practice

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1 For further illustrations refer pp. 56-57 and p. 99 supra.

2 Note the curious coincidence of occurrence in history that his grandson Humāyūn too subsequently met his death in almost the same manner at Delhi.

3 A. S. Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. 1, p. 1. London, 1921.

4 The practice of making young Princes rulers over territory was quite common in the East. His grandson Akbar is another instance of a youthful king in the line of the Mughal rulers in India. Also cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's accession to the throne of Persia at the age of ten. This practice cuts at the root of the Western contention that in the East sovereignty depended on *de facto* strength.

5 Lane-Poole and Rushbrook Williams have preferred to treat "Zahīruddīn Muhammad" as proper name. For discussion on this point *vide* chapter IX supra.

Bābur, before his conquest of Hindustān, as the ruler of Farghana

[From an album of Mughal Emperors exhibited for sale in London.]

which was afterwards followed by his successors in India.[1]

His mother Qutluq Nigār Khānam was a scholar's daughter and is believed to have been well educated in Turki and Persian.[2] His grandmother, Isān Daulat, too, was a cultured lady who seems to have exercised a more marked influence on him than even his mother :

Culture of his mother and grandmother.

> "She was practically his ruling counsellor, and brought to her grandson much that goes to the making of man."[3]

His own estimate of these women, to whose memory he pays a glowing tribute, is worthy of notice :

> "Qutluq Nigār Khānam, my mother, was Yūnus Khān's second daughter. She was with me in most of my guerilla expeditions and throneless times."[4]

As to his grandmother he says :

> "There were few of her sex that excelled her in sense and sagacity."[5]

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[1] The only possible exception I have been able to discover is the case of Uljaitū who was styled as "Ghiyāsuddīn" on a coin described in the British Museum Collections (Additions to Part 2, p. 102), shown to me by Mr. C. A. Storey of the India Office. There is, however, nothing in it to suggest that the title "Ghiyāsuddīn" was formally proposed by the people and accepted by him on the occasion of his coronation. My own impression is that it was adopted later and entered in foreign correspondence and on coins, not with the idea of introducing it as a custom into his house but simply as a political exigency to impress the Muslims all round favourably and frighten his foes with his prowess as a chosen monarch, or *King-Elect*, who carries with him the sympathy and support of a large section of Muslim population of the Central Asia.

[2] Memoirs of Bābur, ut supra, preface.

[3] Ibid., p. xxviii.

[4] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 21.

[5] Ibid.

These women appear to have been his chief guides and counsellors in his youthful days, and were, for the most part, with him in his wanderings and outdoor life with which his early years were occupied.[1]

In 'Umar Shaikh's circle of friends there were several scholars whose frequent association with him had much to contribute to his culture and refinement. The two most prominent of these were :

Scholarship of his father, and his learned associates

1. Yūnus Khān—Bābur's grandfather, and
2. Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī,

whose influence in shaping his literary taste was none the less than his parents. Yūnus was for many years well trained and educated under the tutorship of Maulānā Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī[2]—author of the Zafar Nāma. Other scholar of repute was Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī who in the estimation of Bābur ranked high as a Sūfī, and his memory was held sacred. He seems to have been as much devoted to

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[1] For influence of the zenāna on Mughal Princes cf. V. A. Smith : Akbar the Great Mughal—p. 20 (the influence of Akbar's nurses) ; and p. 49 (the rule of Māham Anāga—the head-nurse of Akbar). Also, cf. the influence of Nūrjahān over Jahāngīr, and that of Jahān-Ārā Begam and her mother over Shāh Jahān [Lane-Poole, Mediæval India, pp. 341-2. London, 1917].

[2] Yezd, a cosmopolitan town, seems to have been a hot-bed of political and religious thinking. It has been a stronghold of Jewish, Zoroastrian, Sunnī, Shī'a, and of late Bābī activities. Once, when the Afghāns prepared to attack Yezd in 1724 A.D., the Shī'ā inhabitants fearing that Zoroastrians might evince their long-cherished enmity against them, and join the Afghāns in looting their property, declared war on them, and massacred them in large numbers. From literary point of view Yezd, like Shīrāz or in India Bilgrām, has always been a resort of scholars, and noted for its poets, historians, and thinkers.

Ahrārī[1] as Akbar to Shaikh Salīm Chishtī or the Khwāja of Ajmer.[2]

Sharafuddīn and Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh both were present at the court on the occasion of Bābur's birth, and

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1 Cf. Bābur's taking up the versification of the Khwāja's Wālidiyya Risāla as a means of recovery from illness :

"During the night of Tuesday...... it occurred to me to versify the Wālidiyya Risāla of his Rev. Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh. I laid it to heart that if I, going to the soul of his Rev. for protection, were freed from this disease, it would be a sign that my poem was accepted. By God's grace and His Reverence's favour I was free." (Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. 2, p. 619)

Also cf. his showing respect to Khwāja 'Abdul Haq, a descendant of Ahrārī, in taking initial step to visit him on his arrival at Āgra, and wait there like a servant :

"Khwāja 'Abdul Haq having arrived...... I crossed the water by boat, went to his tent, and waited on him." (Ibid., p. 641.)

The words "waited on him" clearly suggest that he treats him as his lord and himself a vassal or an inferior.

2 It is significant that all the rulers of Bābur's line from his ancestor Timūr down to Aurangzēb were, without an exception, devout adherents to Sūfīs, and invariably invoked their blessings :

Cf. Timūr's staunch devotion to Shaikh Shamsuddīn and Shaikh Zainuddīn. (Refer pp. 34 & 39 supra.)

Also cf. Akbar's sending his wife, when she was in her family way, to reside at Shaikh Salīm's humble dwelling at Fatehpūr Sīkrī, until the birth of the child whom he named Salīm after the saint's own name.

Also cf his journeys from Āgra to Ajmēr in fulfilment of the vow he had made to the saint in the event of the birth of an heir.

It is noteworthy that both these saints belonged to the same order of Sūfīs and exercised enormous influence on the religious thought of India. Of the eight schools the Chishtiya order carries even today a much greater influence and popularity than any other school. The latter Shaikh Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī of Ajmēr is revered as the arch saint of India, and his influence on the public mind is ever on the increase, while that of the former has since much dwindled.

Also cf. Aurangzēb's culminating Sūfistic tendencies. He had adopted the garment of a Sūfī, and only drank a little water,

partook in his ' *aqīqa* ceremony.[1] His name Bābur was chosen for him by the latter,[2] who was the most celebrated spiritual guide of the time. Mīrza Haidar Dughlāt's remark about Yūnus's scholarship is worth quoting :

'خان دوازده سال پیش مولانا شرف‌الدین علی
بوده است و کسب فضائل کرده چنانکه پیش ازوی و
بعد ازوی مثل وی درمیان خوانین مغول پیدا نشده
است ، چون مولانا وفات یافته است خان از یزد بطرف
فارس و آذربائیجان رفته است......، اکثر بکسب روزگار
گذرانیده است ، در شیراز توطن‌اختیار کرده است و
بمجلس فضلای آنجا رسیده...... در شیراز باستاد
یونس اشتهار یافته -

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and ate a small quantity of millet bread, and slept on the ground with only a tiger skin over him. (Tavernier's Travels, translation V Ball, i, p 338.) All this he chose from sheer conviction which could be traced to the influence of Sūfistic teachings on him of men like 'Attār Shamsuddīn Tabrīzī, and Jalāluddīn Rūmī in concord with the teachings of the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet. He is a notable example of one who combined 'shariat' with 'tarīqat' in the discharge of his duties as a true Muslim or what may be termed as a Sūfī, and was intolerant of the eccentricities of Sophists and latitudinarians who took undue liberties and transgressed the Law of Islām. In India he is revered as a Sūfī by a large section of Muslims, and his saintly life in the footsteps of Khulafā-i-'Rashidīn,' coupled with his erudition in Muslim jurisprudence, gives him a place among the learned divines of Islām.

[1] It is customary to sacrifice a goat or other kindred animal after a week's time from the birth of the child when his name is chosen for him.

[2] Haidar Mīrza Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī—B.M. MSS, Or. 157, fol. 121a.

[3] Ibid., fol. 59a.

The Khān has remained with Maulānā Sharafuddīn 'Alī for 12 years, and has acquired excellences such as none before him and after him was ever born among the Khāns of Mongols like him. Since Maulānā has died the Khān has gone over from Yezd to Fars and Āzarbyjān, and has spent his time mostly in acquiring knowledge. He has made Shīrāz his home and got access to the assembly of the learned of that place. In Shīrāz he is known as 'Ustād Yūnus.

At another place he says:

[1]بانواع فضائل آراستهبود چنانکه قراءت قرآن
و طبع موزون......بغایت مضبوط داشته......وغایت
فراست و بمتانت رای (پیراسته)

He was adorned with varied accomplishments so that in the reading of the Qur'ān and in his poetic disposition he was very strong and endowed with quickest perception and mature judgment.

Note.—The reason why the B. M. codex is consulted in preference to Elias and Ross's translation of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī is twofold:

(i) the translation does not tally with the original text in the B.M., *e.g.*, the word ترک has been read as بزرک, and خطاب or title of Zahīruddīn is taken for his name. Also, the expression آنحضرت ایشان referring in the B.M. codex to Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī, is made to refer in the translation to Maulānā Munīr Marghīnānī (*vide* p. 173 of the Translation). All these discrepancies occurred in the same page in one and the same sentence, and altered the meaning altogether.

(ii) Sir Denison Ross told the writer in an interview that the translation was made in collation with several MSS. Since it was impossible for the writer at Cambridge to approach them all, it was deemed convenient to depend on the B. M. codex.

[1] Ibid., fol. 109a.

Thus it may be seen that their constant association with 'Umar Shaikh was certain to have considerable effect in moulding his literary taste which is described by *Abul Fazl in the following words* :

[1] و آن فرخنده بخت بلند اختر سخن سنج
و سخن گستر بود و توجه تمام به ارباب نظم داشت
و خود هم نظمی می‌گفت و طبعش در نظم موافق بود اما
پروای شعر گفتن نداشت و غالب اوقات بکتب نظم
و تواریخ توجه میفرمود و درملازمت او اکثر شاهنامه
میخواندند -

And that of blessed fortune and high star was of literary skill and perception and paid full attention to poets, and himself also composed verses. His mind was in accord with poetry but he did not care to write verse. Most of his time he occupied himself with poetical and historical works and in his presence they used to read the Shāh Nāma.

Nor do his activities appear to have been confined to historical works like the Shāh Nāma, for he seems to have been even more devoted to subjects of religious study than those of epic and romance, which is confirmed by Bābur's statement as follows :

"'Umar Shaikh read the Qur'ān very frequently and was a disciple of His Highness Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh (Ahrārī) who honoured him by visits and even called him son. His current readings were the two quintets,[2] and the Masnawī ; of

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1 Akbar Nāma, p 84.

2 By 'quintets,' are meant the famous Khamsas of Nizāmī and Khusrau.

histories he read chiefly the Shāh Nāma. He had a poetic nature but no taste for composing verses.[1]

From these two statements it becomes clear that he had a literary bent of mind and delighted in the study of useful literature such as books on history and morals. Also, he loved poetry and himself could compose verses. Thus we see that the scholarship of his elders in addition to that of other contemporary scholars in his attendance, of whom he was a patron, was primarily influencing his son's (Bābur's) literary taste.

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. 1, p. 15, ut supra.

CHAPTER II

In fact from Bābur back to Timūr is a line of ancestors of varying but definite literary skill and taste. Timūr, though famous for his lust for conquest like Alexander the Great,[1] was sufficiently a well-informed and a talented person, and certain works written at his com-

Estimate of Timūr's culture and the literary significance of his court.

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1 Timūr was undoubtedly aspiring to become and be known to the world as second Alexander in his ambition to conquer the "two worlds" and leave behind him a consequent prestige of his name as worthy successor of Alexander the Great. (*Vide* Buckler – 'A New Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579,' JRAS., 1924, p. 593.) This is supported by his adoption of the title of "*Sāhibqirān*" in close imitation of "*Zulqarnain,*" both of which are derived from the same root and mean the same thing, *viz*, 'the lord of the two ages.'

The idea is further supported by his very title of "Iskandar ul 'Ahd" (Alexander of the age), by which the learned chroniclers of his court addressed him in their works. A good instance of same appears on fol. 8a, of a contemporary work entitled 'Zafar Nāmai Khāqānī' [for particulars about this work *vide* fn. 1, on the following page] wherein the above title is used for even his son 'Umar Bahādur, and is very significantly coupled with 'Sāhibqirān' reading as اسکندر العهد صاحب القرآن (Alexander of the time, and the lord of the two ages). The latter 'Sāhibqirān' is also interpreted as 'the lord of the conjunction of the two planets.' The popular story is that at the birth of Timūr, the stars, Venus and Jupiter, were in conjunction, which is believed to be a very auspicious sign for the child and forebodes his future greatness.

The literal or Greek sense of 'qarn' is "horn," but this does not really affect the case. The important point is to notice the use of the word by Muslim historians and Arab lexicographers who take 'qarn' as meaning "age" or "generation." Hence the expressions قرون اولی and قرون وسطی always signify the "primitive and the middle ages." Cf. قد خلت القرون من قبلی Qur'ān [Ch. 26, RK. 2].

Amīr Tīmūr seated on his throne, giving instructions to his Generalissimo

[From an album dated 107[illegible] A.H. B.M., Add. 18801, fol. 23a.]

mand[1] and revised and named by himself[2] bear testimony to his culture and enlightenment. The following extract from Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī is a valuable asset of contemporary estimate of his literary taste and capabilities :

[3] سبب تحریر این سطور آنست که در سنه اربع وثما نمایه حضرت امیر صاحبقران خلدالله ملکه ... باحضار بنده داعی نظام شامی مثال داد چون بشرف بساط بوس مفتخر گشتم بعد از تقدیم مراسم نوازش واکرام ...... اشارت عالی نفاذیافت که تاریخی که جهت آنحضرت وصادرات افعال ایشان ازمبداء ظهور این دولت الی یومنا نوشته‌اند وترتیب آن کما ینبغی بتقدیم نرسیده این بنده بتنقیح و ترتیب ...... آن مشغول شود اما بشرطی که از حلیه تکلف ...... مصون ومحروس واز شیوه سحرآرائی ونقش پیرائی محفوظ ماندچه کتبی که بدان منوال پرداخته وبشیوهٔ تشبیه واستعارات آراسته

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[1] *E.g.* "Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī" of which the only copy known to me is preserved in the British Museum, and may be said to be the basis of the later Zafar Nāma of Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī. The author Nizām i Shāmī was deputed by Timūr to write out in easy Persian an authentic account of his reign and achievements on the battlefield in accordance with the existing material in the shape of State documents and other official and private records kept by his chroniclers (*vide* original text).

[2] The above work on completion, in 806 A.H, was formally presented to Timūr who was gratified to see it done according to his instructions, and approved its style and diction. The title "Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī," which abruptly appears at the end, was chosen by Timūr himself, after it was finished (*vide* fol. 5b, ibid.).

[3] B. M., MSS. Add. 23,980, fol. 6b.

مقصود درمیان فوت می شود ...... لاجوم ......
دربں شغل یك رویة شدة تاریخ سعیهای حمیل و
کوششهای پسندیدة ورایهای ثاقب و تدبیرهای
صائب آں حضرت در وبیاں کردم -

The reason of writing these lines is that in the year 804 A.H His Majesty Amīr Sāhib Qirān —may God perpetuate his kingdom—gave order to cause the presence of the humble servant called Nizām-i-Shāmī, and when I had the honour of kissing the carpet, after conferring on me his favour and exalting me in rank, his sublime desire manifested itself that a history which they have recorded for His Majesty, containing all his deeds from the beginning of his reign to this our day, and which is not arranged as it ought, this slave should apply himself to its critical examination and arrangement, but on condition that the same should be free and protected from the ornament of artificiality, and the custom of giving charm and spell ; for he said about the books written in that style and adorned by similes and metaphors, that their object is lost in the very midst. Necessarily in this occupation, having adopted one procedure, I described therein the chronicles of his beautiful efforts, and agreeable endeavours, and shining judgments, and perfect plans.

Thus we see that he had appointed scribes to remain in his personal attendance to record every important utterance or event of the day,[1] so as to compile and leave to posterity a complete diary of his actions and movements as a second mighty conqueror of the world.

[1] Cf. the statement by Nizām-i-Shāmī—B. M. MSS., Add. 23,980, fol. 7a.

Some passages from his "Institutes"[1] may fittingly be produced here to depict the state of culture at his court together with his own :

The Memoirs and Institutes of Timūr.

[2] عقلا واصحاب کنگایش وارباب حزم واحتیاط
ومردم کهنه سال بمش دیں را در مجلس خاص خود
راه دادم وبایشان صحبت داشتم ونفع یافته تجربها
حاصل میکردم -

Wise men and persons of deliberation and prudence and caution and aged men endowed with foresight, I gave admittance into my chief council, and I associated with them, and acquired benefit and experience.

At another place he says :

[3] از خرد مندان معتبر راسخ الاعتقاد که سزاواران
بودند که رازهای امور سلطنت بایشان سپارم
ومشوره امور سلطنت بایشان کلم طائفه را صاحب
اسرار نهانی خود ساختم -

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[1] The so-called Institutes and Memoirs of Timūr have been discredited by Rieu, followed by Prof. Browne, as sham and apocryphal. Whether or no they are genuinely the work of Timūr, is not the point of contention, nor is it of much consequence. As an authentic autobiography they may be forgeries, but as history the work has considerable value, and reflects the true Timūrid character in every page. What is therefore of importance to consider is that whether the work is a later invention, simple and pure, as alleged by the critics, or it has for its basis some original record of Timūr's sayings and doings kept by his scribes. For discussion in support of the latter view see page 19 and the following.

[2] Davy and White: Institutes of Timūr, p. 205. Oxford (1783).

[3] Ibid., p. 211.

From amongst the trusted wise, of loyal belief, who were worthy of being entrusted with the secrets of administration, and with whom I could consult on the affairs of the state, I made a selected group repositories of the inner secrets.

The most important paragraphs of his "Institutes" are the following :

[1] حکما واطبا ومنجمان ومهندسان که مصالح
کارخانه سلطنت اند برخود جمع آوردم -

Sages, physicians, astrologers, and mathematicians who are the essentials for the machinery of Government, I drew around me.

[2] محدثین وارباب اخبار وقصص را بخود راه دادم
و از قصص انبیا واولیا واخبار سلاطین روزگار و کیفیت
رسیدن ایشان بمرتبه سلطنت و زوال دولت ایشان
ازین طائفه می‌شنیدم واز قصص واخبار ایشان وگفتار
وکردار هریك تجربها بر میداشتم واخبار وآثار عالم
از ایشان می شنیدم ودر احوال عالم اطلاع حاصل
می نمودم، .... ومشائخ وصوفیان
وعارفان خدا پیوستم و بایشان صحبتها داشتم
...... وامرنمودم که بهر شهری وبلدی مسجدی
ومکتبی تعمیر نمایند -

Traditionalists and possessors of anecdotes and tales, I admitted to my presence ; and from this group I heard the tales of prophets and saints,

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[1] Ibid., p. 213.

[2] Ibid.

and the histories of kings and how they arrived at the dignity of empire and the decline of their powers. And from their narratives and histories and the sayings and doings of each of them I gathered experience. And from them I heard the news and events of the universe and acquired knowledge of its affairs. I united myself with the holy and the pious and associated with them. And I ordained that in every town and city they should build a mosque and a school.

[1] وبهر مملکتي شيخ الاسلامي فرستادم و علما ومدرسان بهر شهری تعین کردم که اهل اسلام رامسائل ديني وعقائد شرعي تعليم دهند -

And I sent into every kingdom a Shaikul Islām; and I appointed learned men and teachers in every city to instruct the Muslims in the religious laws and traditional beliefs.

[2] مترددين ومسافران هر ملك وديار را تسلي دادم که اخبار ممالك را بمن برسانند -

To passengers and travellers of every country and province I gave encouragement so that they might communicate to me the intelligence of countries

[3] سادات و علما را بخودراه دادم و تعظيم ايشان بجاي آوردم و صحبت با علماي شريعت مي داشتم ومسائل ديني ودنيوي از ايشان استماع مي نمودم

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[1] Ibid., pp. 177—179.

[2] Ibid., p. 215.

[3] Stewart (Major Charles), Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī, Book 4, Rule ii. London, 1830.

And I gave admission to the Sayyids and the learned into my presence and treated them with respect; and kept company with the learned in religion and heard from them religious and secular laws.

The significance of this assertion is greatly enhanced when we find the famous Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo deputed by King Henry III of Castile, visiting Timūr at Samarqand and giving a vivid life-like picture of his person and the court. Clavijo and his suite reached the borders of Samarqand on 31st August, 1404, and were admitted to Timūr's audience on Monday the 8th of September. The ambassadors handed over the presents which they had brought for Timūr to his orderlies who took them respectfully before the lord. At the gate they met with many porters who guarded it with maces in their hands :

Evidence of the Spanish ambassador.

"Timūr Bēg was seated in a portal in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged on silken embroidered carpets amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which was a spinal ruby with pearls and precious stones round it."[1]

The Spanish envoys were graciously received and given a preferential place above the Chinese ambassador who too was present from the other extremity of the world.

"Perhaps the most striking idea to be obtained from their narrative is that the intellectual supe-

[1] Sir C R Markham, English translation of the Spanish Embassy's Narrative of the Court of Timūr, p. 132 London, 1860,

riority of the envoys to the Mughals (which we unthinkingly and at once assume) is less marked than one might have expected. Timūr's officers do not seem specially rude and ignorant as compared with the Spanish gentlemen Timūr's court was not a mere assembly of officials. It was organised in a fashion as orderly as that of the Spanish King. Timūr himself was a far more important figure than any of his western contemporaries."[1]

This estimate of Timūr's culture based on a foreign neutral authority in piquant contrast with the Arab historian Ahmad bin i Muhammad of Damascus, better known as Ibn i 'Arabshāh who, for reasons of national humiliation and personal privations, *hates* Timūr, agrees to the views held by another contemporary Nizām i Shāmī, author of the Zafar Nāma-i-Khāqānī.[2]

Authenticity of Memoirs questioned by Rieu.

"The authenticity of memoirs," says Rieu, "is open to serious objections."[3] The reasons he gives are briefly summed up as follows:

(1) The suspicious vagueness of the account of the alleged discovery.

(2) The fact that the supposed original has never been produced, nor its existence been confirmed by any testimony; and the absolute silence of Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī.

(3) It included some facts not recorded in the Zafar Nāma, and other trustworthy histories, and omitted events chronicled by all historians.

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1 Holden (Edwards, S.), The Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān, p. 21, Westminster, 1895.

2 *Vide* supra, p. 13.

3 Catalogue of Persian MSS., B. M., Vol. 1, p. 178.

(4) When it was read before Shāh Jahān glaring discrepancies in facts and dates were noticed by the emperor who ordered "the humblest of his servants," Afzal Bukhārī to collate the work with the Zafar Nāma and other standard histories; to throw out the additions of Mīr Abū Tālib[1]; supply his omissions; translate the Arabic and Turkī passages; and correct the dates which did not tally with those of the Zafar Nāma.

As to the first objection, the following views of William Davy which he expressed in his letter of October 24th, 1779, to Dr. White—then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford—are worth noticing:

Views in defence

"It may appear remarkable that the translator should say so little or in fact nothing to prove the authenticity of the valuable work which he was about to translate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but I think the following inferences only can be drawn from it; either that he thought the work itself contained sufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he translated it, it was so well known as not to admit of doubt or dispute."

The second point—why the book was never produced nor its existence confirmed by any contemporary histories—is explained in the note of Afzal Bukhārī himself in his edition of the Malfūzāt:

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[1] Translator of the disputed manuscript of Tīmūr's Turkī Memoirs into Persian In his Foreword to the translation he says that in the library of Ja'far Pāshā, ruler of Yeman he met with a manuscript in the Turkī or Mughal language, which on inspection proved to be a personal diary of Tīmūr By the kindness of his imperial host he was permitted to translate the MS. into Persian, and on his arrival in India presented it to Shāh Jahān

[1] وکتابي مرتب و مدون شد و بعد از رحلت انحضرت بجهته تصاریف از منه این کتاب مستطاب از کتابخانهٔ اولاد واحفاد امجاد آنحضرت بممالك روم افتاده زینت افزاي کتبخانه قیاصره و بعضي آن مملکت گردید تا بحسب اتفاقات حسنه گذار میرا بوطالب که از موضع تربت خراسان بود بولایت روم و عربستان افتاد و بشهریمن وارد گشته بصحبت جعفر پاشاء حاکم یمن رسید .... روزی در هنگام عرض کتابخانه جعفر باشا این کتاب شریف بنظر میر ابوطالب در آمد -

And a book was compiled and written, and after the death of His Majesty (Timūr), this honourable book, due to the vicissitudes of time, having passed from the library of His Majesty's sons and nephews to the countries of Rūm, adorned the libraries of the Kaisers and some other rulers of that country, till through the good chances, Mīr Abū Tālib who was from Turbat in Khurāsān happened to travel to the countries of Rūm and Arabia, and having arrived in Yeman he associated with Ja'far Pāshā, ruler of Yeman. One day during his inspection of Ja'far Pāshā's library this auspicious book came within sight of Mīr Abū Tālib.

Besides this, an allusion too, which seems to have escaped the notice of Rieu, occurs in the work of Nizām i Shāmī, the contemporary historian of Timūr, who declares that a record of Timūr's life, that had

[1] Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, B.M. MSS., Add. 16, 686, fol. 2b.

been written by his scribes but was not properly arranged, was then in existence. Afzal Bukhārī, perhaps, did not know the work of Nizām i Shāmī, at all, since, like Abū Tālib's manuscript, there was probably only one copy of it existing at that time, which is now in the British Museum. This evidence is of the greatest significance as corroborating internally the confused manner in which various events were originally placed in Abū Tālib's work under one heading, mixing personal with official, and domestic with military, with dates clashing with one another. Afzal Bukhārī simply put this account into proper order, and the dates in their due places.

The third contention that the work does not tally with the known existing chronicles is a point rather in support of its genuineness than its falsity, and calls for special attention. Its contents widely differ from, and go much further than, those of the commonly known works of the contemporary authors, and seem in all probability to have for their basis some Turkī manuscript of Timūr's life and actions written by his scribes.[1]

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[1] The same view is held by Beveridge in his article on Timūr, which appeared on p. 201 of JASB., 1921. He observes.

"Though I regard Abū Tālib's work as a forgery, it is quite possible that he may have had access to some records of Timūr's sayings and doings. His book is certainly not entirely a reproduction of Sharafuddīn, since in one place he makes a reference to Nizāmuddīn Shāmī's Zafar Nāma, for in the account of the taking of Baghdād he refers to the fact of Nizāmuddīn having been the first person who came from the city and did obeisance to Timūr. This is not mentioned by Sharafuddīn, but occurs at p. 99b of Nizāmuddīn as quoted by Rieu.

Also, Shāh Jahān wanting to give advice to his son Aurangzēb when he was in charge of the Deccan, sent him an extract from Abū Tālib's work about the duties of a

As to the fourth reason, it may well be said that Shāh Jahān who could be a no better judge of the authenticity of the work than Abū Tālib himself, thought it fit to bring the book up to the standard and taste of the time, of which it naturally fell so short, being a record of unconnected events and miscellaneous orders issued from time to time by Timūr, and kept by him only as a memorandum.

Abū Tālib's additions, which he, under the circumstances, had thought fit to make, to give the book a polish, and to fill in the gaps, were equally undesirable and uncalled for, and if Shāh Jahān ordered their exclusion from the work, it was but a laudable act to keep the beauty of the original intact. But it is a pity that he did this only to make room for his own additions through his tutor Afzal Bukhārī who can hardly be said to be any better antiquarian than Abū Tālib himself.

We are also informed by Rieu that certain Arabic and Turkī passages (which were either omitted or not quite well translated by Abū Tālib), were ordered by Shāh Jahān to be re-translated. This statement, while showing that there existed some previous work, wherein occurred the Turkī and Arabic passages which were not quite fully grasped even by Abū Tālib, suggests that the original Turkī manuscript, or a copy thereof, was brought to India, and was there before Shāh Jahān; or

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governor. These instructions alleged to have been sent by Timūr and sent by Shāh Jahān for the edification of Aurangzēb do not appear in Zafar Nāma. They profess to have been issued by Timūr in 794 to his grandson (Pīr Muhammad's son) Jahāngīr when he was appointed to the charge of Cābul, Qandhār, and India. The Zafar Nāma I, 558, Bib. Ind. edition gives the appointment of Pīr Muhammad and the names of the officers who were to assist him but does not give the instructions."

how could he detect the discrepancies in the body of the translation, and order for the Turkī passages to be re-translated ?

Professor Browne's view

Professor Browne suspects that the work is a production of Abū Tālib himself:

"Of the existence of this Turkī original no *evidence, whatever, exists, save this statement of* Abū Tālib's, and it appears much more likely that he himself compiled the Persian work in imitation of Bābur's authentic autobiography, with the aid of the Zafar Nāma, and other histories of Timūr.[1]

Its critical test

As to this remark the following points should be borne in mind :

(1) The contents of Abū Tālib's translation widely differ from those of the Zafar Nāma and other histories of the reign of Timūr. The former is a personal diary of his actions ; while the latter is a chronicle or history of important events of his reign, so that the one does not much help the other.[2]

(2) There appears no reason whatever for Abū Tālib to undertake the unremunerative task of compiling a work in imitation of Bābur's autobiography with a view to attribute it to one who was dead and gone three hundred years past.

(3) If Abū Tālib with such historical insight was really capable of producing a work like the Memoirs of Timūr, he would not have, on the

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[1] Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, p 184

[2] For illustrations *vide* p 26 supra Also, see p 22 fn. 1, for reasons why Abū Tālib's work could not be compiled with the aid of the Zafar Nāma

one hand, suffered to diminish his fame by giving himself out as a mere translator, and profit on the other, by not writing a work for a living monarch like Shāh Jahān himself.

Charles Stewart also, in reviewing the work says :

"It is written in a careless manner, occasionally obscure, with much tautology, and some repetitions but without any break in detail, except at the commencement of a new year evidently evincing that the art of bookmaking has not been employed to set it off, and that it is a translation from some language less polished than Persian."[1]

"The noble simplicity of diction, the plain and unadorned egotism that runs through the whole of the Institutes and History of Timūr, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity also."[2]

In addition to these critical remarks of the learned orientalists there are some cogent reasons against the wholesale rejection of the work :

(1) The minuteness of detail and the wonderful accuracy with which many a trivial anecdote which has passed the notice of contemporary historians, is described, the spots marked, and the personages connected with them carefully mentioned by name and with characteristic

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1 English translation of Malfūzat Timūrī, Preface, p. vi.

Note.—Charles Stewart was Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of the East India Company in Bengal.

2 William Davy's letter of October 4th, 1779, to Dr. White, then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

familiarity, cannot possibly be the work of mere imagination, or even a subsequent compilation after a lapse of three centuries from the reigning Timūr.

(2) Abū Tālib's work for its material is not indebted to the available histories of the reign of Timūr, owing to the basic difference of the former in its topic and trend of thought from the latter.[1] It seems too much to ascribe these to the imagination of a man of Abū Tālib's ordinary ability with no genius or ambition, whom history knows no more than as a mere translator of a historical work like this, and that too, according to Rieu, full of discrepancies, and not a good work at all [2]

(3) Most of the theories and points of personal character described in the disputed Institutes, *e.g.*, the respect which Timūr invariably professes to show

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[1] *E.g* cf the regulations for the punishment of his relations and other kinsmen as distinct from the common culprits; the rules concerning the subsistence of his children and other dependents; his conduct and behaviour towards the learned, the Sūfis, the strangers, the friends and the foes, his sundry orders to his high officials, domestic servants, courtiers and personal attendants, account of his visits to, and granting gratuities for, the holy shrines in conquered lands, and there receiving in audience their custodians without omitting to mention them by name, plans for the arrangements of squadrons, and different tactics of war employed under different circumstances appearing at the moment. assessment and collection of tolls and indemnities from conquered territories, and similar other things These measures are of a nature that none but an experienced monarch of high ambition could possibly lay down.

[2] Cf. the statement·

"His translation, however, was not free from errors . . . . . when it was read before Shāh Jahān, glaring discrepancies in facts and dates were noticed . . " (Cat. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. 1, pp. 178-179.)

to the learned and the Sūfīs[1]; his fury for offences of breach of faith and slackness in duty and his logic for meeting same with capital punishment[2]; his ambition for the subjection of the East and the West, perceptible throughout his career in every

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[1] Cf (i) Generous reception by Timūr of the learned Shaikh Nūruddīn 'Abdur Rahmān who was sent as an envoy from Sultān Ahmad Jalā'ir of Baghdād: also, of Mullā Sa'duddīn Taftāzānī who was summoned by Timūr to his capital—Samarqand—and shown respect and favour by him.
(ii) Nizām i Shāmī, author of Zafar Nāma i Khāqānī, also was favourably received by Timūr, and deputed to compile the history of his reign.
(iii) Majduddīn Ibn-i-Ya'qūb Fīrūzābādī, compiler of the famous Arabic lexicon, the Qamūs, also received favours from Timūr.
Similarly a good many instances are found of Timūr, paying respect to the Sūfīs and the holy men of the time such as Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr, Shaikh Nūruddīn, and Shaikh Sadruddīn Ard Belī, etc.

[2] Cf. Timūr's order for severest punishment for petty faults of servants deputed to attend on the Spanish ambassador and his subsequent pardon at the latter's intervention. (The Spanish Embassy's Narrative, ut supra.) Also, cf. his reason for the general massacre of the people of Isfahān :

اصفہانرا مسخر و بر اهل اصفہان اعتماد کردم قلعہ را بدست
ایشان سپردم و ایشان داروغہ را کہ بر ایشان تعین کردہ بودم با سہ
هزارا کس از سپاہ من بقتل آوردند منہم حکم بقتل عام اهالي
اصفہان کردم -

I captured Isfahān, and I trusted in the people of Isfahān; I delivered the castle into their hands, and they slew the Dārūgha whom I had placed over them with 3,000 men of my army; I also commanded a general slaughter of the people of Isfahān. (Tuzuk-i-Timūrī attached with Qābūs Nāma, p. 40. Tehrān, 1285 A H.)

deed; and his keeping rigid discipline in the army and other departments; are but accomplished facts fully supported by external evidences, and are genuinely Timūrid in character.

Literary phase of his life.

Sir C. R. Markham reviewing Timūr's intellectual life says:

"The name of Timour is frequently coupled with that of Zengis Khān; yet the latter was a rude barbarian while there is evidence that the former was versed in all the knowledge of his age and country. The period between the reign of Timour and that of Bāber was the golden age of Toorki literature, and the Princes of the great Conqueror's family wrote poetry in their own tongue, and gave liberal encouragement to its cultivation amongst their courtiers. 'Alī Shīr Beg, the Grand Vizier to Husein Meerza, composed a poem in the Toorki language, and also wrote a complete prosody; and other Ameers at the courts of the Timouride Princes, while they studied the literature of Persia, did not neglect the poetry of their native Toorki Timour seems to have given the first impulse to these intellectual pursuits amongst his countrymen, and though he owes his fame chiefly to his conquests, it would be unfair to forget his liberal encouragement of learned men."[1]

Beveridge in his recent article on Timūr begins with the following lines:

"Timūr was long treated as if he was another Prester John. People knowing little or nothing about him, but eager to give news, invented all

[1] Introductory Life of Timour Beg, prefixed to the Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, p. 11.

sorts of stories, and palmed them off on the public."[1]

Though Timūr was not formally educated, yet he had like Akbar a keen literary sense and humour. His alleged conversation with the poet Hāfiz, his contemporary, is worth recording as an evidence of his wit and perception :

His literary wit.

[2]حکایت کنند که وقتی که سلطان صاحبقران
اعظم امیر تیمور گورکان انارالله برهانه فارس را مسخر
ساخت درسنه خمس و تسعین و سبعمایة و شاه منصور
را بقتل رسانید خواجه حافظ در حیات بود کس
فرستاد و اورا طلب کرد' چون حاضر شد گفت من
بضرب شمشیر آبدار اکثر ربع مسکون را مسخر
ساختم و هزاران جای و ولایت را ویران کردم تا
سمرقند وبخارا راکه وطن مالوف وتختگاه من است
آبادان سازم تو مردك بيك خال هندوی ترك شیرازی
سمرقند و بخارای مارا میفروشي درین بیت که
گفتهٔ بیت :—
اگر آن ترك شیرازی بدست آرد دل مارا
بخال‌هندوش بخشم سمرقند وبخارارا
خواجه حافظ زمین خدمت را بوسه داد و گفت
اي سلطان عالم ازان نوع بخشندگي است که بدین
روز افتاده‌ام' حضرت صاحبقران را این لطیفه خوش
آمد و پسند فرمود وباو عتابی ذکرد بلکه عنایت
ونوازش فرمود –

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[1] "Apocryphal Memoirs of Timūr," JASB., p 201. 1921.

[2] Daulat Shah, edited by Prof. Browne, p. 305. London, 1901.

It is related that at the time when Sultān Sāhib Qirān, the great, Amīr Timūr Gūrkān, may God illumine his soul, subjugated Fārs in 795, and slew Shāh Mansūr, Khwāja Hāfiz was living. Timūr sent for Hāfiz through some one. When Hāfiz appeared, Timūr said to him :

" I have by the stroke of the glittering sword subjugated the greater part of the habitable quarter of the globe and devastated thousands of places and foreign kingdoms so that I may bring to Samarqand and Bukhārā, my dear native land and the seats of my throne, prosperity. Thou worthless fellow art selling my Samarqand and Bukhārā for one black mole of a Turk of Shīrāz in this verse that thou hast composed :

If that Turk of Shīrāz would take my heart into his hand,
I would give away Samarqand and Bukhārā for his black mole."

Khwāja Hāfiz kissed the ground of his Majesty's presence and said : "O emperor of the world, it is due to this sort of generosity that I have fallen to such miserable days."

To Sāhib Qirān this witty remark came agreeable, and he appreciated it, and showed no anger to Hāfiz, but entertained him with kindness and favour.

Prof. Browne puts little faith in this anecdote on the ground that Hāfiz was at that time dead for four years.[1]

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[1] Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, p. 188.

Note.—This story though not corroborated by any source other than Daulat Shah, whose authority is weak, is popularly believed to be true. The one great point about it is that it is current at Shīrāz—the place of their meeting It seems therefore possible that the event might have taken place but at different date.

Even if not historically true, the assignment of this event to Timūr at Samarqand and in Persia itself is significant.

Another evidence of his perceptible wit is to be found in the anecdote of his meeting and conversation with Daulat, the famous blind bard of India :

[1] امیر تیمور جب ہند میں آیا تب یہہ بات کہی
کہ میں نے لوگوں سے یوں سنا ہے کہ ہند میں راگ
خوب ہوتا ہے ' کسی گویے کو بلاؤ تو میں سنوں -
ایک اندھا کلاونت بڑا لسان بادشاہ کی خدمت
میں آن حاضر ہوا ' ایسا گایا جو امیر تیمور سنکر
بہت خوش ہوا ' اندھے کو پوچھا تیرا نام کیا ہے ؟
کہا دولت — بادشاہ نے کہا کیا دولت بھی اندھا ہوتا
ہے ؟ جواب دیا جو اندھا نہ ہوتا تو لنگڑے کے پاس
کیوں آتا ؟ -

اس جواب سے امیر بہت راضی ہوا اور انعام جو
دیا چاہتا تھا اسے دوچند دیا -

Amir Timūr when he came to India said: "I have heard from people that there is good music in India. Let some musician be sent for, so that I may hear him sing." A blind bard who was very eloquent in his speech entered the royal presence, and sang so well that Amir Timūr was very pleased to hear him. He asked the blind, "What is your name ?" The blind replied "Daulat" (wealth). The king said : "Is wealth also blind ?" The bard rejoined : "If it had

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[1] Shakespeare (John), Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī, Vol. 1, p. 15. London, 1817.

not been blind, why should it have come to the lame?" [1]

The Amīr was well pleased with this rejoinder, and rewarded him with twice as much as he had originally intended to do.

Again, there is a famous story in Persian which is so very popular and didactic in value that it has found expression in almost every living language of the East, but few probably know that its author is Timūr, and the story originates from him. Holden quoting from the Institutes says:

"The famous anecdote of the ant does duty in a Persian life of Timūr. 'I was once forced,' says he, 'to take shelter from my enemies in a ruined building. To divert my mind from my hopeless condition, I fixed my eyes on an ant which was carrying a grain of wheat up a high wall. Sixty-nine times it fell to the ground, but the insect persevered, and the seventieth time it reached the top. The sight gave me courage and I never forgot the lesson.'" [2]

His religion.

There seems to be an impression among English writers that Timūr was a Shi'a. Some even go so far as to accuse the Muslim historians, especially of the Sunnī sect of partiality and concealment of fact, if they write or call Timūr a

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[1] Cf. a similar story of wit (quoted on p. 29, supra) ascribed to him in Persia, while this is attributed in India. If neither of them is historically true, they are important at least in one aspect as showing the trend of public opinion about him in both the countries.

[2] The Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān, p 32, ut supra.

Sunnī.[1] This idea is probably based on the latter's conduct in waging war against the Ottoman Sultān. If so, it is erroneous. The strongest evidence of his adherence to the Sunnī creed, as also that of his army, is to be found in his own letter which he addressed to Sultān Bā Yazīd of Turkey. The following extract from it is reproduced from Ferīndūn Bey's State papers :

[2] مسلماني و اظهار شعائر اسلام و اعتقاد بمذهب
اهل سنت وجماعت داشتن ما اظهر من الشمس است
و نوکران آنجناب سنقور و احمد مدتي درميان
لشکر های مابوده اند , و مشاهده کرده اند که آثار
مسلماني درميان لشکر ما بچه حیثیت است -

Our faith in Islām and our display of the tenets of Islām and our belief in the Sunnī creed are more luminous than the sun : and your servants Sanqūr and Ahmad, have long stayed in the midst of our armies and have witnessed to what extent are the symptoms of Islām visible in our soldiery.

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[1] Cf. Beveridge :

"And what Timūride and what Indian Muhammadans would not act in the same way? They would all feel bound to support the glory of the house of Timūr. I, therefore, would pay little attention to the opinion of Muhammadans . . Far more value is to be attached to the opinions of disinterested scholars as Sachau and Rieu. Sunnīs, we are told, *even assert that Timūr was an orthodox Sunnī, though he really was a Shī'a*" (JASB., p. 204, 1921.)

Also cf. Holden

"Timūr was of the sect of '*Alī*, *a Shī'a*. I have not been able to trace when his descendants assumed the Sunnī faith. But Bābur declares that (1500) in his time the inhabitants of Samarqand were all orthodox Sunnī." [The Moghal Emperors of Hindūstān, p. 33.]

[2] Munsha' āt i Salātīn i ' Usmānī, Vol. 1, p. 131.

Also, his inherited tendency in putting implicit faith in the tombs of Sūfīs, and invoking their blessings, is a practical proof of his Sunnī orthodoxy. Of the numerous instances one is quoted by Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt from the Zafar Nāma as follows :

[1] امیر حسین و حضرت صاحبقرانی با تمامی لشکر از آنجا کوچ کرده متوجه حرار گشتند و درآنجا بمزار متبرك خواجه شمس‌الدین ...... درآمدند واز روح مقدس آن بزرگ دین استمداد همت نمودند -

Amīr Husain and Sāhib Qirān with all the army, having marched from that place turned towards Harār, and in that place came to the blessed tomb of Khwāja Shamsuddīn, and from the sacred soul of that holy religious personality solicited help and courage.

The disputed Memoirs and Institutes of Timūr are full of such instances, but the passages which relate to his visits to the mausoleums of Imām Muhammad Abū Hanīfa and the most revered of saints, Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Gīlānī, are most important, as fixing the particular school to which he belonged :

[2] و امر نمودم که بروضات ومزارات اولیا واکابر دین مواضع وقف کنند و فرش وآش و روشنائی مقرر نمایند ...... وبروضه قدوةالاولیا شیخ عبدالقادر ومقبره امام اعظم ابوحنیفه رحمةالله علیه ومزارات دیگر مشایخ واکابر و بزرگان دین که در بغداد آسوده اند از برای هر یك علی قدر هم مواضع و دهات کربلا و بغداد وغیره وقف نمایند -

[1] Tārīkh i Rashīdī, B. M. MSS. Or. 157, fol. 20a.

[2] The Institutes of Timūr, pp 357-358, ut supra.

And I ordained that for the support of the shrines and the tombs of the saints and great religious personalities, lands should be assigned; and carpets, food and light be provided. And for the shrine of the leader of the saints Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir, and for the mausoleum of the great Imām Abū Hanīfa (May God's mercy be upon him) and for the sepulchres of other saints, and distinguished men of the holy religion, who take rest in the city of Baghdād, for each of them, according to their ranks, the lands and the villages of Kerbalā and Baghdād and other districts should be assigned.

Again, he always respectfully mentions the four representatives of the Prophet (Khulafā i Rāshidīn) with equal recognition, and with no invidious distinctions. Thus, on one occasion when he recovered from serious illness he said:

[1] من صحت یافتم واسب وگوسفند بسیار تصدق
دادم وبحضرت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم صد شتر
نذر کردم وبخلفای راشدین پنجاه شتر نذر گرفتم -

I gained health and gave away many horses and goats in charity; and a hundred camels I gave in honour of the holy Prophet (May peace and blessings of God be upon him), and fifty more in honour of the illustrious Khulafā. (Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn.)

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[1] The Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, C. U. L. MSS., Add. 302, fol. 20a.

At another place he mentions the first two of them, and seeks their intercession, a thing which no adherent to the Shī'a faith would do :—

[1] من همواره شفاعت خلفاي اولين دريوزه گري نمودم و برآدميان كرم گستر شدم -

> I constantly begged the intercession of the first two Khulāfā and became benevolent to mankind.

His name "Timūr,' according to his own alleged version was derived from a verse of the Qur'ān, and was given him by a saint, Shaikh Shamsuddīn[2] whom Timūr's parents visited only a week after his birth :

His name Timūr derived from a verse of the Qur'ān.

[3] پدرم امير طراغاي بمن خبرداد ...... روز عقيقه ترا بخدمت شيخ شمس الدين بردم ايشان دران وقت اين آيت تلاوت ميكردند قوله تعالي ءامنتم

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[1] Memoirs of Timūr, p 30

[2] The existence of this saint and Timūr's implicit faith in him have been confirmed by contemporary authorities like the works of Nizām i Shāmī and Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yezdī, but none except Abū Tālib's translation mentions the anecdote of Timūr's naming, and the belief of his parents in the Sūfīs, which (as has been shown on p. 7) is a characteristic feature of the house of Timūr : Cf. the presence of the celebrated Ahrārī at Bābur's *'Aqīqa*, and his choosing the name 'Bābur' for the child. Also cf. Humāyūn's and Akbar's devotion to the saints. The latter named his two sons Salīm and Dānīyāl after the names of the saints. Akbar's birth had taken place in adverse circumstances and consequently there appears no saint on the scene. It transpires that the privilege of choosing the name usually belonged to and was exercised by a high priest, and considered by the Turks to be a good omen.

[3] The Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,686, fol. 12b.

من في السماء ان يخسف بكم الارض فاذا هي تمور'
فرمودند كه ما اين پسر را تمورنام نهاديم' بمناسبت
لفظي تمور -

My father Amīr Tarāghāy related to me, "On the day of thy *'Aqīqa* ceremony, I took thee to Shaikh Shamsuddīn. He was at that time reciting this verse of the holy Qur'ān : 'Are you sure that He who dwelleth in Heaven, will not cause the earth to swallow you up, and then it shall shake?' The Shaikh then said, 'We have named your son Timūr, in fitting appropriateness with the word 'Tamūr.'"

His titles.

The various titles of Timūr are the following :

1. ابوالمنصور Abul Mansūr .. [Father of a Victor]
2. ابوالفتح Abul Fath ... [Father of aperture or victory]
3. صاحبقران Sāhib Qirān .. [Lord of the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter ; or Lord of the two Ages]
4. خسرو Khusrau ... [Name of a celebrated king Cyrus or Chosroes]
5. امير Amīr [A commander; a guide of the blind.[1] It is a vassal term]
6. بادشاه Pādishāh . [A vassal king][2]

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[1] Qāmūs, p. 453.

[2] F. W. Buckler, A New Interpretation of Akbar's Infallibility Decree of 1579, JRAS., October, 1924, p. 600, n. 3.

7.	سلطان Sultān	... [A ruler of an independent territory. It has the force of an adjective rather than a noun]
8.	گورکان Gūrkān or Kūrkān.	[A son-in-law: usually a conqueror's title]
9.	ابوالغازی Abul Ghāzi	... [Father of the victor in a holy war, or, head of victors in *jihād*]
10	گیتی ستان Giti Sitān	... [Conqueror of the world]
11.	اسکندرالعهد Iskandarul 'Ahd	[Alexander of the Age]
12.	خاقان Khāqān	... [Title of the emperor of China]

In addition to these, there are a few others like 'Nāsir-i 'ibādullāh' 'Mu'izz i aulia'ullāh'; 'hāfiz'i bilādullāh' 'dīn panāh' 'jahān panāh,'[1] etc., all of which have been treated as mere adjectives to his name, in being not much recognised by the public

[1] The last two 'dīn panāh' and 'jahān panāh,' have been adopted by subsequent Mughal historians for their sovereigns in India. Cf. Abul Fazl using 'Jahān panāh' for Akbar

والتجا آوردن از بدرگاه جهان پناه اسعه -

[Akbar Nāma Vol. 11, p. 123]

It is significant that Humāyūn gave the name of 'dīn panāh' (which was his own title) to a fort which he got built at Delhi Cf.

پادشاه بربالای منود بام کتبخانه که در قلعه دین پناه دهلی ساخته بود برآمده الخ-

[Badāūni, Vol. 1, p. 465.]

His first title 'Abul Mansūr' was conferred upon him by his Pīr or spiritual guide: Shaikh Zainuddīn Abū Bakr, who wrote to him in one of his letters as follows:

1. Abul Mansūr.

پیرمن بنوشت که ابوالمنصور تیمور در امور
سلطنت چهار امر را بدست بگیر -

My Pīr wrote to me saying, "Abul Mansūr Timūr, take in thy hand four things in the administration of the state."

The second Abul Fath has a better recognition than the first. He was styled as such by Sultān Bā Yazīd of Turkey in one of his letters as follows:

2 Abul Fath.

بخدمت اعلحضرت, الامرتبت جهان پناه
عظمت دستگاه ابوالفتح تیمورالخ -

3 Sāhib Qirān.
4 Khusrau.
5 Amīr.
6. Pādishāh.
7. Sultān.
8. Gūrkān (Khaqan)

In another letter he is styled as Pādishāh, Khusrau, Sāhib Qirān, Sultān, and Gūrkān:

[1] از جناب همایون و پادشاه ربع مسکون خسرو
صاحبقران سلطان سلاطین جهان امیر تیمور
گورکان خلدالله تعالی ایام عزه و اقباله -

Of all these titles six entered in the Khutba that was read in his name at Balkh, Herāt, Shīrāz, Baghdād, and other places:

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1 Ibid., p. 130.

[1] من حکومت دارالسلطنت هرات را بوی (ملك غیاث الدین) نا مزد کردم وری علم سلطنت مرا بوسیدہ بیرون شهر هرات بردہ خطبہ سلطنت مرا برمنابر مساجد دارالسلطنت خراسان انشانمود کہ دعائیہ : اللهم انصر جیوش المسلمین این کانو اوحیث کانوا من مشارق الارض الي مغاربها من میامن الدولة السلطان الاعظم الاعدل عالیشان امرتیمور صاحبقران خلد اللہ ملکہ الخ -

[2] روز عید ماہ رمضان المبارك بہ مسجد جامع خطہ بلخ در آمدم ...... خطیب بہ منبر بر آمد وبعد از حمد خدا ونعت ومنقبت خلفاي راشدین رضوان للہ تعالي علیهم اجمعین خطبہ را موشح بنام من ساخت بدین عبارت کہ : اللهم انصر جیوش المسلمین وسرایاهم این ماکانوا وحیث ماکانوا من مشارق الارض الي مغاربها من میامن الدولة السلطان الاعدل الاعظم والخاقان المعظم المکرم السلطان العالیشان الخاقان ابن خاقان ابي منصور امیر تیمور کورکان خلد اللہ ملکہ الخ -

The title of Pādishāh was, as a matter of fact, formally taken by him on his conquering the various kingdoms of Fārs, 'Irāq, Khurāsān, Egypt, Syria, and India :

[3] و در ملك ایران وتوران و روم و مغرب و شام...... وهندوستان پادشاہ شدم -

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1 Malfūzāt : Sāhib Qirān, fol. 103, ut supra

2 Ibid., fol 81.

3 The Institutes of Timūr, p. 162, ut supra

And in the countries of Persia, Tūrān, Rūm, the West, Syria, and Hindūstān, I became Pādishāh.

The fifth "Amir" is his popular title by which he is best known in the East. Nearly all the great chiefs of Central Asia both in and before his time were distinguished with this title. He too was commonly known among his people by this epithet and himself recognised it as his privileged title:

Amir

[1] دریں وقت شخصے حاجي محمد نام که درمیان ترکمانان بوده مرا بشناخت وفریاد برآورد که امیر تیمور است -

At this time a person by name Hājī Muhammad who was among the Turkomāns recognised me and cried out, "Here is Amīr Timūr."

[2] از ایشان پرسیدم که بهادران شما چه کسانند آنها گفتند که ما نوکران امیر تیموریم که بطلب امیر میگردیم و او را نمي یابیم و من بدیشان گفتم که من هم یکي ازنوکران امیرم خوب است که شما را رهبری کرده به امیر رسانم -

I asked them, "Whose brave soldiers are ye?" They replied, "We are the servants of Amīr Timūr, and wander in search of the Amīr and do not find him" And I said to them, "I too, am, one of the servants of the Amīr. Good it is that I guide you to the Amīr."

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[1] Tuzūk i Timūrī, attached with Qābūs Nāma, p. 12, ut supra

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

The eighth Gūrkān (or Kūrkān) is a very popular yet peculiar sort of appellation which has not been satisfactorily explained by historians. Some attribute it to his passion for hunting Gūr (or wild ass), while others try to explain it away by referring to a small village of that name which they say was his birthplace. There is yet a third interpretation given by a Persian commentator as follows:

8. Gūrkān.

[1] چون امیر تیمور خواهر امیر حسین را داشت اورا
کورکان گفته یعنی داماد و این لقب بر او ماند -

Since Amir Timūr had for his wife, the sister of Amir Husain, he was called Kūrkān meaning 'son-in-law,' and this appellation remained on him.

The ninth "Abul Ghāzī" was the outcome of his campaigns against the non-Muslims of India. It was given him by his Pīr (spiritual guide) just before he set out on his avowed mission to India.

9. Abul Ghāzi

[2] چون برین عزیمت کمر بستم به پیر خود حضرت
شیخ زین‌الدین ابوبکر تایبادی نوشتم که من بعزم
غزای کفار هندوستان مصمم شدم والتماس فاتحه و
دریوزهٔ همت می‌نمایم وایشان بر حاشیه خط من نوشتند
که ابوالغازی بمهور ایده‌الله تعالی معلوم باشد... الخ

The tenth meaning 'conqueror of the world' is a title given him by his chroniclers—both of the contemporary and the later periods—and confirmed by Shāh Jahān's autograph.[3]

10. Gītī-Sitān

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1 Ibid, p. 11

2 Malfūzāt i Sāhib Qirān, fol. 220, ut supra

3 A. S. Beveridge, Humāyūn Nāma, Autograph Note of Shāh Jahān, p. iii London, 1902.

This too, like the above, was conferred upon him by his court historians who believed him to be the right successor of Alexander the Great, as conqueror of the East and the West.

11. Iskandar ul 'Ahd.

This has been already noticed (on p. 39 supra), as being read in the Khutba. In the East it has ever been recognised as being the exclusive prerogative of the mighty emperor of China. Timūr in his ambition to conquer the East and the West was resolved to start on a campaign against China to win for himself this proud title as well. This was perhaps his last ambition in life which remained unfulfilled, owing to his death, which overtook him just half way to Chinese conquest, when he had crossed the river Sīhūn (Jaxaretes) at the head of a large and well-equipped army. It transpires that he loved this title most, as there is evidence of his personally asking a historian of his court to name the history of his conquests, that was just finished and presented to him, after the title "Khāqān."[1]

12 Khāqān.

It is significant that of all his variegated titles none is similar to what his successors took in India, *e.g.*, Bābur's title of *Zahīruddīn* (the Strengthener of the faith), or Humāyūn's title of *Nasīruddīn* (Defender of the faith), or Akbar's title of *Jalāluddīn* (Glory of the faith), or Jahāngīr's title of *Nūruddīn* (the Light of the faith), or Shāh Jahān's title of *Shihābuddīn* (Meteor of the faith), or that of Aurangzēb, *Muhīuddīn* (the Rejuvenator of the faith), and so on. But Abul Fazl and later historians use them as epithets for their own sovereigns.

His titles do not resemble with those of his successors in India

[1] Zafar Nāma-i-Khāqānī, B.M MSS, Add. 23, 980, fol. 5b.

The period of Timūr has been one of the most glorious epochs in history for the growth of Persian literature and the nursing of the best poetry. Prof. Browne in his notices of Persian poets and scholars that were contemporary with Timūr has almost exhausted the material available in that branch.[1] Some prominent figures are the following:—

Persian literature in Timūr's age.

Poets	Prose-writers
1. Ibn-i-Yamin.	1. Shams-i-Fakhri.
2. Khwājū Kirmānī.	2. Mu'inuddin Yezdī.
3. Salman Sāwajī.	3. Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din Abul 'Abbās Shirāzī.
4. Hāfiz Shirazi.	4. Nizāmuddin Shāmī.
5. Kamāl Khujandi.	5. Sharafuddin 'Ali Yezdī.
6. Maghribi.	6. Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī.

This list shows the extensive field of knowledge which they covered as historians, philosophers, mystics, and poets, and the widespread area which they came from. They exercised enormous influence in Persia, India, and Turkey, and some of them like Ibn-i-Yamin, Salmān, and Hāfiz, are of world-wide fame, whose poetry has made a great impression upon the West.

Bābur led in all five expeditions to India. Of these the last in which he succeeded in conquering Delhi

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[1] Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, Book II, pp. 157–375

Note—For detailed information as to these and several others who were among the chief contributors to the Persian literature of the Timūrid period, one could do no better than read through the pages of Prof. Browne's History of Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion [Chapters IV and VI].

was the most important. It was in imitation of Timūr[1] that Bābur had set his foot on the soil of India, and entered Delhi as a Conqueror.

Bābur set his foot on the soil of India in imitation of Timūr.

Whatever credit may be due to Bābur for his conquering Hindūstān and establishing an empire, yet inasmuch as it had no solidarity and was soon afterwards so completely wrecked by Shēr Shāh Sūr—the rival claimant to the imperial throne—that for some years to come there was no trace of the Mughal dominance left anywhere in India. Humāyūn conquered Hindūstān afresh and re-established the Mughal empire which endured till its overthrow by the English under the East India Company. It would therefore be quite fair to accredit the person who rebuilt the empire on its ruins with the title of the "Empire-builder"[2] as distinct from the 'Founder' or the 'Conqueror' which may rightly belong to his predecessors.

Humāyūn not Bābur—the builder of the Mughal empire

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1 Timūr, after the subjugation of Delhi and his triumphant entry into the city, with the title of Pādishāh fully confirmed and his name read in the Khutba, had left India to subdue Bā Yazīd, the Ottoman Sultān, who being defeated and humbled died a captive in his camp.

2 Cf. Rushbrook Williams' Bābur : An Empire-builder of the 16th Century.

CHAPTER III

Persian, which was not the native tongue either of the Turks or of the Mongols but only an acquired language, had, in the course of time, become so very popular among the Turkish and the Mongol races, during their stay in Central Asia, that it was freely used by the Princes of the house of Timūr even in supersession of their own native tongue - the Turki dialect. Timūr's descendants of the line of Bābur played an important part in the establishment and adoption of Persian as their own literary tongue, as also their sole medium of expression on all public and private occasions.[1] As a consequence thereof the Turki dialect fell rapidly from popularity at court, and was completely lost sight of even as early as the reign of Humāyūn whose own father had, on the contrary, made a strenuous effort to keep up the prestige of his native dialect shoulder to shoulder with the acknowledged Persian. His partiality for Turki was but natural. He was fresh from Turkistān, and his connection with India began only towards the close of his career and was the result of anti-Persian feeling among the Mughals.

Persian foreign to Turks

He was the last point of connection between Turki and Persian and a singular exception to the almost

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[1] *Vide* supra, p. 1, Maulānā Husāmi Qarakōlī's Persian verse commemorating Bābur's birth Also cf. pp. 50—58 and chapters under Humāyūn and Akbar

recognised practice of the literati of his time in leaving his Memoirs in Turki dialect.[1]

'Umar Shaikh's scholastic influence on Bābur.

As has already been described 'Umar Shaikh together with his wife had considerable influence in moulding Bābur's literary taste.

The chief books which the Shaikh took pleasure in reading were the following :[2]

1. The Qur'ān.
2. The Masnavī of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī.
3. The Shāh Nāma of Firdausi.
4. The Quintets of Nizāmi and Khusrau.

The second is the main work on Sūfism, which of the two great sections in Islām, the Sunnīs alone uphold and revere.

His religion

"He was a Muslim of the Hanafī school, adhering to the doctrines of Imām Muhammad Abū Hanīfa, and pure in the faith, not neglecting the five prayers."[3]

This prevailing spirit had considerable influence on the development of Bābur's taste.

In the traditional fashion of his ancestor Timūr, Bābur received no systematic education except that provided him

Bābur's early education

by nature, or what he could receive from his parents and other scholars of the time in his frequent associations with them.

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[1] It seems highly probable that Bābur had a definite dislike of Persian on account of political associations, but his son and grandsons were of just opposite temperaments They retained a knowledge of colloquial Turki and adopted Persian as their official and literary language There were, no doubt, political reasons at the back of their choice owing to their Persian followers, as also the existing literary atmosphere in India

[2] Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, p 15

[3] Ibid

His school days were, of needs, spent at home, and in the nomadic and ambitious adventures with the only opportunity of learning his lessons from time and experience.

His tutors (or Atāliqs).

His tutors, that could be traced to his youngest days, were, four prominent individuals coming next to his parents in shaping his character and literary taste. They were :

1. Shaikh Mazīd[1]
2. Khudā i Birdī[2]
3. Bābā Quli,[3] and
4. Maulānā ' Abdullāh, surnamed Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī.[4]

The last-named, who is described by Bābur in some detail, traces his lineage from ancestors renowned for their piety and learning.

Favourite study.

His favourite readings were, in his ancestral fashion and taste, the following :

1. The Qur'ān[5]
2. Sa'dī's Rose-gardens[6]
3. Firdausi's Shāh Nāma[7]
4. Nizāmī's and Khusrau's quintets[8]
5. Sharafuddīn ' Alī Yezdī's Zafar Nāma[9]
6. Abū 'Umar Minhāj-al-Jauzjānī's Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī.[10]

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 27.
2 Ibid., p. 53.
3 Ibid., p. 27.
4 Ibid., p. 89.
5 Ibid., p. 425.
6 Bābur Nāma, fols. 121 ; 169 ; 259b.
7 Ibid., fol. 314b.
8 Ibid., fols. 25 ; 348b ; 2826.
9 Ibid., fol. 291b.
10 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 479.

BĀBUR, WRITING HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY—THE BĀBUR NĀMA.

[From an original 16th Century painting by Bihzād.]

Acquired from Shamsul 'Ulemā Āqā Mahmūd Shīrāzī, at Kāzrūn.

His grasp of Persian, Arabic, and Turki.

Although he wrote and left his principal work, the Autobiography, in Turki and not in the accepted literary medium, Persian, a point in his conduct generally ignored by historians in their judgment of his relation with Persia, he was sufficiently learned to be an accomplished poet in Persian. The extent of his knowledge in Arabic cannot be fixed with any degree of precision, although there is internal evidence to the effect that he not only understood it correctly but had also a refined taste for same. There are many verses of his in the Turki Dīwān[1] interspersed with Arabic phrases and quotations from the Qur'ān. In his Memoirs too, he frequently used Arabic phrases, proverbs, and verses from the Qur'ān, just to suit the occasion and purpose of his requirements.

While his Memoirs written in prose furnish evidence of his mastery, not only as a writer but also as a historian, over the language of his native country, his verses in the Turki Dīwān bear testimony to his poetic vein, and establish him as a poet.

> "In Persian, the language of culture—the Latin of Central Asia—he was an accomplished poet; and in his native Turki, he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse."[2]
>
> "His autobiography is fit to rank with the Memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands alone."[3]

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1 Sir E. Denison Ross, Facsimile of Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, Plate 6, JASB., 1910.

2 Lane Poole, Bābur, p. 10.

3 Beveridge, Calcutta Review, 1879.

He composed his metrical versions under the pen-name Bābur.[1] The bulk of his poetry has a touch of Sūfism, and emanates from beliefs kindred to those cherished by his father. The ideas expressed therein are mostly drawn from the mystical teachings of Sa'dī, Hāfiz, and his own contemporary Jāmī. In Persian, more particularly, his verses in elegance, style, and originality, are quite up to the level of those of the average Persian mystic poets. It is worth while to reproduce here by way of sample some of his hybrid poetry from the Rāmpūr codex, and his Memoirs.

His pen-name and nature of poetry.

On the eve of the battle of Pānīpat, when his anxiety was great, due to facing a foreign people to whose customs, language, and mentality, he was quite a stranger, he recited off-hand a Persian verse which he composed on the spot, portraying the picture of his foe and his own anxious thought :

[2] پریشان جمعی و جمعی پریشان
گرفتار قومی و قومی عجائب

Our disturbed band with a disturbed mind,
In the midst of a people quite unfamiliar

---

[1] Cf. his Turki verse in the Diwān .

اغبولارکم یارین دیدی بابر * بیلکا سین کیم مفصل ایماندور

It also supports the contention why the correct form is Bābur and not Bābar Also cf. the rhymed chronogram " فتح بابر بهادر " [Bābur Nāma, fol. 135a] ; and a Persian verse by a contemporary poet :

خدیو کامران پر تو در * ملاذ ملک و ملت شاه بابر

[2] Bābur Nāma, fol. 264

With the simplicity of style and the language it is a specimen of rhetorical expression, embracing the beauties of three distinct figures of speech.[1]

On another occasion when the formidable fort of Chandīrī was conquered, he composed off-hand a chronogram with a play on the word 'chand' and 'harb':

[2] بود چندي مقام چندیری * پرز کفار و دار حربی خرب
فتح کردم به حرب قلعه آن * گشت تاریخ فتح دارالحرب

For a while the place 'Chandīrī' was,
Paganful and polluted was the seat of the hostile camp,
By fighting I conquered its fort,
The date was found in "Fath i Dār-ul-harb."

A similar instance of his ready wit is to be found in a Turki verse of his composed in reply to Khwāja Kalān's Persian verse. When the Khwāja disgusted with his prolonged stay in India took leave to go back to Cābul, he had inscribed before departure the following couplet on a wall in Delhi:

[3] اگر بخیر و سلامت گذر ز سند کنم
سیاه روي شوم گر هواي هند کنم

---

[1] The figures contained in it are 'ایهام' 'ترصیع' and 'مراعات النظیر', which were favourite with the poets of the middle and the later ages.

[2] Farishta, p. 390, ut supra.

Note.—Bābur Nāma, fol 355a gives the first hemistich as follows:

بود چندیری مقام چندیری

This is evidently a misprint being both out of metre and without sense.

[3] Bābur Nāma, fol. 296a.

If safe and sound I cross the Sind,
My face be blackened if I desire for Hind.

"It was," says Bābur, "ill-mannered in him (Khwāja Kalān) to compose and write up this partly jesting verse while I stayed in Hind. If his departure caused me one vexation, such a jest doubled it. I composed the following off-hand verse, wrote it down, and sent it to him":—

[1] یوز شکردی بابر کریم غفار
بردي سنکا سند وهند و ملك بسيار
ایسیق لیغي غه کرسنکایولتور طاقت
سادوق یوزیني کوراي وسانك غزني بار

Bābur, give a hundred thanks that the Merciful, the Forgiver,
Has given thee Sind and Hind and widespread kingdom,
If thou canst stand their heats,
If thou sayest, "let me see the cold region," there lies Ghaznī.

Another instance of Bābur's off-hand Persian poetry is to be found in the following:

"Qlandar, the footman," says Bābur, "was sent to Nizām Khān in Biāna with royal letters of promise and threat; with these was sent also the following little off-hand verse":

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[1] Ibid.

[1] با ترک ستیزه مکن ای میر بیانه
چالاکی و مردانگی ترک عیانست
گر زود نیائی ونصیحت نکنی گوش
آنرا که عیانست چه حاجت به بیانست

Do not fall out with the Turk, O Mīr of Bayāna,
The skill and bravery of the Turk are known;
If thou dost not repair soon and listen to advice,
That which is evident what need is there to describe?

On several occasions he quoted from other poets also whose verses he could fittingly recall to memory. One such instance is noticed in his speech to his rank and file, before giving battle to Rāna Sangā, when he appears to have recited the following verses to spur the zeal of his soldiers on to action:

[2] چو جان آخر از تن ضرورت رود
همان به که باری به عزت رود
سرانجام گیتی همین ست و بس
که نامی پس از مرگ ماند بکس

When the life from the body is perforce to depart,
Better is that it should quit with honour;
This is the end of the world, and it is all,
That a name after death should survive the individual.

Of his mystical poetry which seems to be the net result of the primary influence of his father's beliefs, he being a constant reader of the great mystic Jalāluddīn Rūmī's Masnawī, the following quatrains may be quoted:

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[1] Ibid., fol. 298a.

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. II, p. 340. Calcutta, 1869.

[1] در هوای نفس گمره عمر ضایع کرده ایم
پیش اهل‌الله ز افعال خود شرمنده‌ایم
یک نظر با مخلصان خسته دل فرما که ما
[2] خواجگی را مانده ایم وخواجگی را بنده‌ایم

We have wasted our lives in the vain pursuit of the astrayed heart,
We are ashamed before the godly people in consequence of our misdeeds ;
Cast a look at the sincere broken-hearted, for we,
Have lived for the Khwāja, and are slaves to the Khwāja.

[3] اخلاص و عقیدهٔ تو روشن شده است
حالات و طریقه‌ات مبرهن شده است
حایل چو نماند زود برخیز و بیا
دلخواه تو تربیت معین شده است

Thy sincerity and faith have shone bright,
Thy ways and manners laid plain,
When the obstacle remained not (between our meeting) soon get up and start,
To thy heart's content thy training (*i.e.*, spiritual teaching) is appointed.

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[1] Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, p 16, ut supra

[2] Reference to Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī, one of the greatest Sūfis of the age (dead at this time) for whom Bābur had a deep veneration.

[3] Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, p 22, ut supra

Note.—This speech is by way of reply put into the mouth of the supposed beloved, the Khwāja, to whom an appeal had been previously made.

Farishta mentions his name with respect, and says that he wrote poetry both in Turki and Persian. The following is a beautiful verse representing him in his liberal vein of a poet and a typical lover of life ;

[1] نو روز و نوبهار و می و دلبری خوشست
بابر بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست

The new year, the spring, the wine, and the beloved, are pleasing,
Enjoy them Bābur, for the world is not to be had a second time.

Here, there is an evidence of his composing poetry after the metre and rhyme of Khwāja Hāfiz's ode of which the first line runs as follows :

[2] بحریست بحر عشق که هیچش کناره نیست
آنجا جز آنکه جان بسپارند چاره نیست

1 Farishta, Vol 1, p. 394.

2 Diwān i Hāfiz, p 18. Calcutta

Note.—It might be observed that in composing this verse he was very probably thinking of ' Umar Khayyām's following quatrain, in the second line of which exactly the same idea is expressed :

لب بر لب کوزه بردم از غایت آز
تا زو طلبم واسطهٔ عمر دراز
لب بر لب من نهاد و می گفت براز
می خور که بدین جهان نمی آئی باز

In great desire I pressed my lip to the jar,
To inquire from it how long life might be attained ;
It joined its lip to mine and whispered,
" Drink wine, for to this world thou returnest not."

[E. H. Allen, Ruba'iyāt-i-'Umar Khayyām, p. 219. London, 1891.]

The ocean of love is an ocean which has no shore,
No other course is open but that they should
surrender their lives there.

It may be mentioned here that in his metrical version of Khwāja 'Ubaidullah Ahrārī's Wālidayya Risālā[1] he has used the same metre in which Jāmī wrote his poem entitled 'Subhatul Abrār.'[2]

Bābur was a fluent Persian speaker and used Persian in India in his private talks of which one is reproduced here by way of sample: The occasion is that when one of his officers by name Khalīfa showed alarm at the defeat of a section of troops near Lucknow, to him Bābur spoke thus :

Bābur and his officers using Persian in their private talks

[3]تردد و دغدغه بیهوده است هر چه تقدیر
خداست غیر آن نمیشود چون این کار درپیش است
ازین مقوله دم نمیباید زد و فردا بقلعه زور آوریم
بعد ازان هرچه رو بدهد ببینیم -

There is no ground for anxiety and alarm ; nothing other than what is ordained by God would accrue. When this task is before us, not a breath should be indulged in such talks. And tomorrow we shall bring pressure on the fort. After that whatever makes its face we shall see.

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1 'The Parental Treatise' written in Persian by Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrārī at his father's request: whence the title. The subject-matter is the sayings and deeds of the great Sūfīs.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 620

3 Bābur Nāma, fol. 334a.

His Turk officers too who accompanied him to India employed Persian in their private conversations, as noticed below :

" While we were at the border of the spring," says Bābur, " Tardī Beg said again and again ":

[1] چوں جاے خوش کردہ ایم نامے می باید ماند

Since we have enjoyed the beauty of the place, a name ought to be settled for it.

Bābur also recalled certain proverbial verses and maxims which he used with appropriateness fitting in with the occasion. Once when he escaped the effects of the poison served in his dish through the device of Ibrāhīm's mother, he said :

[2] رسیدہ بود بلاے ولے بخیر گذشت

An evil had arrived but passed off peacefully.

At another place he said :

[3] مرگ با یاران سور است

To die with friends is a nuptial.

His courtiers too were in the same habit, as is noticed in Bāqī Beg's discourse with Bābur :

[4] دہ درویش در گلیمی بخسپند و دو پادشاہ در اقلیمی نگنجند (سعدی)

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1 Ibid , fol. 328a

2 Ibid., fol. 306b.

3 Ibid., fol. 194b.

4 Ibid., fol. 121a.

Ten dervishes can sleep under one blanket but two kings cannot find room in one clime.

He further quoted the lines :

نیم نانے گر خورد مرد خدای
بذل درویشاں کند نیم دگر
ملك اقلیمی بگیرد پادشاہ
هم چناں در بند اقلیم دگر (سعدی)

If a man of God eat half a loaf,
He gives the other half to a dervish ;
Let a king grip the rule of a clime,
He dreams of another to grip.

CHAPTER IV

His knowledge of Hindī and Urdū, and their admixture with Turkī.

On his entry into Hindūstān, though quite a stranger to the language of the Indians and utterly contemptuous of their customs, yet he could not wholly escape the influence of the Indian tongue and civilisation. What is most striking is that Hindī vocabulary to which he professed complete ignorance till before the battle of Pānīpat, saying :

> " Our affair was with a foreign tribe and people;
> none knew their tongue, nor did they know ours," [1]

so much influenced him within a short space of time that he learnt hundreds of Hindī and Urdū words which he freely used in his Memoirs. A few of the many that he carefully retained in his memory are reproduced below from his Turki autobiography :

نیلا گاؤ - کالا ھرن - ھاتھي - پاڈي - روتي - قلاچ
مور - سپاھي - ابلي - چمگادڑ - مھوا - گھڑیال -
آملہ - گولر - کروندا - جامن - کمرك - نوتا -
رتي - ماشہ - تولہ - سبر - لن گوتي - گھڑي - کیوڑا -
سنگترہ - چرونجي - راجہ - پنکھا - لڑي - امرت پھل -
دوبھر - ڈولي - پان - کیلا - گلھري -

A curious instance of Urdū verse.

Strangely enough he did not stop at this interpolation alone but went a step further in using Urdū words with purely Urdū verb in a Turki metrical composition, a fact which confirms the previous existence of the Urdū language in howsoever crude a form, as a spoken private tongue of

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, pp. 469-470 [Cf. the original Turki text] : –

غریب قومي بیله ایل یںک ایشي تو هوب ایدي ني پرالر نیک تیل لري
نی بیلور ایدوک ني الر بزنیک بیتمیزتي –

the common folk. It was not, however, till before the reign of Shāh Jahān that it received its polish and the universal recognition of the literate people who did not think it then derogatory to use it in their private correspondence. Within the next thirty years that followed its popularity as a language of culture became so great that it grappled with Persian which tottering before its new rival of hybrid birth soon lost its ground of official favour. The verse referred to is reproduced below :

[1] مجکا نہ هوا کچهه هوس مانك و موتی

نقر اهلیغه بس بولغو سیدور پانی و روتی

Sir Denison Ross's remark about this verse is worth quoting here from his published facsimile of Bābur's Dīwān. He says :

> "I will not discuss here the matter and manner of these poems, as I hope on a future occasion to publish an English translation of the contents of this little book : I cannot, however, refrain from calling attention now to what is perhaps the most curious verse in the collection, namely, which occurs on page 20 of the text. Here we have the uncommon combination of Turkī and Urdū in one and the same line."[2]

An Urdū verse composed and recited before Bābur on the battle-field of Pānīpat.

A still more significant instance of Urdū is to be found in the following verse that was composed and recited by a commoner before Bābur to commemorate his victory on the battlefield of Pānīpat :

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1 Dīwān-i-Bābur Padishāh, Plate XVII, ut supra.

2 Introduction to Dīwān-i-Bābur Padishāh, p. iv.

SULṬĀN IBRĀHĪM LODĪ

[*From an album kindly lent by Nawāb Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Jaunpūr, U. P.*]

[illegible]

[illegible] پادشاه درمیدان پانی پت بوقت [illegible] آفتاب

جنگ عظیم واقع شد........ سرش (سلطان ابراهیم)

بریده پیش بابر بادشاه آوردند، شخصے درآن معرکه

حاضر بوده، این شعر برزبان راند

نوسی اوپر تها بتیسا * پانی پت میں بهارت دهسا

اٹهیں رجب سکروار * بابر جیتا براهیم هارا

The army of Sultān Ibrāhīm, though limitless, yet many of the soldiers and nobles were heartless and grieved. In short, between the two kings at sunrise a big battle ensued . . . Having cut off his (Ibrāhīm's) head they brought it before Bābur Pādishāh. A man who was present on the battlefield recited this verse:

Nine hundred, thirty-two years were above it,
At Pānīpat—the land of Bhārat (India)
Eighth Rajab—Friday,
Bābur won ; Brāhīm vanquished.

There are other instances too of Urdū phrases being used in literary compositions in the time of Sikandar Lōdī, as is clearly noticeable in the works of Kabīr, Sikandar's contemporary.

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1 'Abdullah-Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī, fol. 68b; Or. 197, B. M.

Also certain words were in vogue in a period much prior to this, in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq, may be traced in the historical records of Ibn-i-Batūta. Nothing looks more strange than Batūta's succumbing to this influence. He was a resident of Tanja where pure Arabic was current, and no influence of Hindī or Persian could have worked. Nevertheless, in his book of travels one meets with many such words, no doubt as a result of his contact with the Indians. A list of 40 words taken at random is subjoined here by way of sample :—

Persian and Hindī words used by Ibn-i-Batūta.

کوتوالي	Kōtwālī		
سموسه	Samūsa	شال باف	Shālbāf
منبه (انبه)	'Anba	(قطاره) کتاره - شاره	Qatāra (Katāra)
مهوا	Mahwa	جوکیه (جوگي)	Jōkiya (Jōgī)
کشري (کهچري)	Kishrī (Khichri)	ساهه (ساهوکار)	Sāha (Sāhōkār)
گسائين	Gusa'īn	خونجه (خوانچه)	Khōnja (Khwāncha)
منڈي	Mandī		
پیاده	Piyāda	بهنصار (بهنسار)	Bahinsār (Bhansār)
ربيول (راي بيل)	Ribōl (Rai Bēl)		
خرمقه (خرمگاه)	Kharmqa (Khurramgah)	شاؤش (چاؤش)	Sha'ūsh (Chā'ūsh)
		نيلم	Nīlam
بارگه	Bārgah	کتکر (کتگهر)	Katkar (Katghar)
سراچه	Sarācha		
گلواني (گله بان)	Galwānī (Gallah Bān)	مرطبان (مرتبان)	Martabān
		ٹٹو	Tāttū
جاکر (چاکر)	Jākar (Chākar)		
بدخانه (بتخانه)	Bud Khāna (But Khāna)		

قل استان (گلستان)	Qul 'Istān (Gulistān)
شطر (چهتر)	Shatar (Chatar)
بورا (بھورا)	Būra (Bhūrā)
پردہ داریہ	Parda-dārya
سرگ دوار	Surug duwār
حورنسب	Hūr Nasab
ناخدا	Nā Khudā
سین (سینہ)	Sīn
دول (ڈولی)	Dōl (Dōli)
دولہ (ڈولہ)	Dōla
جوتری (چودھری)	Jotrī (Chaudhri)
پروانہ	Parwāna (Official letter)
دردھی (ڈیوڑی)	Dardhī (Deorhī)
کہار	Kahār

From this list it may be seen how at that time Persian and Hindī words got mixed together and were so profusely current on the lips of the people at large that even a foreigner could not escape using them.

Earliest trace of Urdū language in the 4th Century A.H.

Urdū language in its crude form could be traced as early as the 4th Century A.H. With the advent of Mahmūd of Ghaznī came fresh bands of Persians and Turks who were strangers to the current Prakrits of Upper Hindūstān. Their regular and sustained association at the court with the Hindūs furnished ample ground for a free mixture of Turki and Persian with Hindī and other Prakrits, current in the Provinces of Sindh, Gujarāt,

and the Punjab. An instance of this novel but graceful blending of Persian with Hindī may be quoted from the works of the famous Persian poet, Manūchahrī, who was in India at the court of Sultān Mas'ūd Mahmūd's second son and successor. He says in a *qasīda*, which is preserved in his poetic collections as follows :—

Manūchahrī's Hindī-Persian Verse.

الا تا مومنان دارند روزہ * الا نا ھندوان گبردلنگھن[1]

Hakīm Sanā'ī also who flourished a century later, says :

A similar verse of Hakīm Sanā'ī.

لنگھنت گر ترا کند فردہ * سرحوردن ترا رلنگھن دہ

After Manūchahrī, two other distinguished poets of the later Ghaznavid period, Mas'ūd Sa'd-i-Salmān, and Abū 'Abdullāh Alankatī, who were born and bred in India,[2] are said to have composed separate dīwāns in Hindūstānī language, besides a good many poems in mixed Hindī and Persian, which are now not extant. But the fact remains that they were masters of three different languages, Arabic, Persian, and Hindūstānī and left their works in Hindī, as cited by reliable authorities like Muhammad Aufi and several other Persian and Indian biographers.

Hindī dīwāns of Mas'ūd Sa'd-i-Salmān, and Abū 'Abdullāh Alankatī.

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1 The word 'لنگھن' meaning 'fast' is not Persian, but is the original of the word from which is derived 'لانگھنا' (to skip) The sound 'گھ' as a unit is not found in the Persian alphabets and is essentially Hindī.

2 Mas'ūd was born at Lahore in 440 A H., and stayed during the early part of his life at the court of Saifuddīn Mahmūd, who had been appointed Viceroy of India by his father Sultān Ibrahīm, ruler of Ghaznī, in 469 A.H.

As time went on, relations between the Hindūs and the Muslims became closer every day due to the growing social and political associations. In 589 A.H., Chand Ko'ī, a celebrated Hindī poet and a grandee of the court of Rāja Prithwīrāi of Ajmer, wrote his memorable poem "Prithwirāj Rāisa" wherein occurred several Arabic and Persian words of which some are reproduced below :—

Chand Ko'ī, a Hindī poet of the 6th Century A.H., a benefactor of Urdū poetry.

مست-مہل (محل) - پروردگار- ھجرت (حضرت)
کہدا (خدا) - پگام (پیغام) - کہبر (خبر) -
سرتان (سلطان)- بادشاہ - سلام - کہلك (خلق) -
دنیا - ساھب (صاحب) - پہر مان (فرمان) -

Some of his 'doharās' are in plain soft Hindī or Birj Bhaka which, in the course of time, crystallised itself into Urdū. A specimen is quoted below :—

بارہ بانس بنیس میں چار انگل پھرمان
اُتنے گھر بادشاہ ھے متي چوکي چوھان
پیر نہ اُن نے حملے ھیں نپٹ نہ کھیچن کمان
سات بار تم چوکسو اب نہ چوك چوھان

During the 7th and the 8th centuries of the Hijra, when Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban and Muhammad Tughlaq and his successors were ruling in Western India, this hybrid combination of Hindī with Persian gained a new polish, and gradually became more attractive and acceptable to the people of Hindūstān than it had ever been before. Shāh Sharafuddīn Ahmad Yahyā Munīrī, a learned Sūfī who lived at this age, was a poet of great

Shāh Sharafuddīn Ahmad Yahyā Munīrī, a Hindī-Urdū poet of the 8th Century A.H.

originality, and composed a good many 'dohar̄as' in soft Hindī, which is but Urdū.

His Urdū-Hindī "Kajmandra."

Of his Urdū-Hindī works, his famous poem entitled 'Kajmandra' is preserved at the India Office Library, London.

Amīr Khusrau's contribution to Urdū.

Some instances of mixed Hindī-Persian composition assigned to Amīr Khusrau's genius by popular belief are those which have been cited by Āzād, Shiblī, and others, on the basis of a remote reference occurring in Khusrau's own statement,[1] and that of Taqī Auhadī (author of the 'Urafāt ul 'Āshiqīn')[2] who visited the court of Jahāngīr in 1015 A.H. Mīr Taqī Mīr also, in his "Nikāt ush Shu'arā" states that Khusrau's Hindī songs were very popular in Delhi up till Muhammad Shāh's reign. Nevertheless, none so far has appeared to me as deserving of any serious consideration. The doubtful character of the alleged verses, which emerge from obscure sources, has in most cases been obvious.

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1 Cf. Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Preface :

پیش ازیں از شاهان سخن کسے را سه دیوان نبوده مگر مرا که خسرو
ممالک کلامم مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچه هست اما آں سه دیوان در عبارت
عربی و فارسی و هندی است -

2 The work is rare and no copy of it is available in the British Museum or the India Office Library. The Asifiyya Library, Hyderabad Deccan, is in possession of one copy which is not very good. The author came from Persia to India in the reign of Jahāngīr, in 1015 A. H., and completed this work here under the patronage of the emperor.

A separate collection entitled "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī" published from Aligarh in 1916, under the auspices of the Khusrau committee, is claimed to be the best earliest specimen of Urdū language. The collection, as it stands, is uncritical, and has no good evidence, external or internal, in support of its genuineness. Examined internally, the refined language of many of the verses cited therein, the excellence achieved in diction, the freshness of style and intactness of words unaffected by Hindī tone and expression, and the perfect freedom of language from that crudeness and rigidity of form which is a characteristic feature of early Urdū, are some of the reasons against the acceptance of the assigned work as a genuine composition of Amīr Khusrau. Even so late as in the 10th Century A.H., the language had not attained that purity which is perceptible in the alleged verses of Khusrau who flourished in the 7th Century A.H. A good many words, phrases, and expressions, noticed in "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī" are those which received their polish only in and after Shāh Jahān's time. Hence, it needs a careful investigation and scrutiny to determine Khusrau's own Hindī poetry and subsequent unwarranted additions.[1]

Critical estimate of Khusrau's Hindī Collection entitled "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī."

The utterly uncritical way in which the bulk of "Jawāhir-i-Khusrawī" was prepared and passed by the Khusrau Committee constituted at Aligarh, makes the work totally unfit for reference. The compilers have also included in the volume "Khāliq Bārī," a popular treatise intended for beginners. Besides the suspicious

Khusrau's "Khāliq Bārī," a misnomer.

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[1] There was one Mīr Khusrau, a much later poet, whose Hindī sonnets have been discovered in a work entitled "خیالات خسروی" not yet published.

character of the language, several expressions used in it with particular significations were not in vogue prior to Akbar's or Jahāngīr's time. Hence, no instance of Khusrau's Hindī-Persian composition as quoted by modern writers could be said to be authentic, and is categorically dismissed from consideration.

Khusrau's Hindī poetry does not survive.

Khusrau's genuine Hindī poetry does not survive. It is either hopelessly mixed up with other works or in the course of transmission from generation to generation underwent convenient changes in the mode of expression and spelling, according to the current usage, until it came to acquire the existing unrecognisable form in which it is preserved in the works of later writers.

Rāja Jai Chand's support to Bhāka and its inevitable result.

A great incentive to the development and popularity of Bhāka (or soft Hindī), which is the mother of modern Urdū, is to be traced in the applausive support of Rāja Jai Chand who was contemporary with Khusrau. He invited capable poets to his court and offered to give a gold *ashrafi* for each *dohara* to any person who could compose in good Bhāka. This was the cause not only of turning out many a competitor from Delhi and its environs but also of creating a permanent taste for Bhāka among the cultured classes. People held competitive assemblies known as "*mushā'ira*" which were the cradle of Urdū poetry. The competitors in their zeal to excel their opponents created so many niceties and innovations in the Bhāka itself that a separate language altogether was the ultimate result. Their specimens amply show that the new-born child produced from the conglomeration of Hindī, Persian, Arabic, and Turki, speaking from the mouth of Hindī poets and patronised by the Hindu-Muslim rulers of Hindūstān, must have kept on progressing slowly but steadily, and

attained considerable strength and power by the time Bābur came to India.

Progress of Urdū in the Lodī period.

That it had gained fair popularity in the reigns of Sultān Bahlōl and Sultān Sikandar is evident from the contemporary literature such as that of the great religious reformer Gurū Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and the famous Hindī poet Kabīr. In addition to incorporating, in the time-honoured practice, Arabic and Persian words in the Punjābī and Hindī dialects,[1] they have used a number of Urdū phrases with Urdū grammatical setting in their metrical compositions. A few of these by way of sample are reproduced below :—

Gurū Nānak's poetry.

اِس دم را کا کیا بھروسا * آیا آیا نہ آیا نہ آیا
یا سنسار رین وا سپنا * کہیں دیکھا کہیں ناھیں دکھایا
سوچ وچار کرے مت من میں * جسنے ڈھونڈا اُسنے پایا
نانك بھگتن کے پد پرسے * نس دن رام چرن چتلایا

سانس ماس سب جیو تمہارا * توھي کھرا پیارا
نانك شاعرا یو کہت ھے * سچے پروردگارا

کلیان تھي ڈھرلے بھٹے ڈھر لیون بھٹے سپید
نانك متا متو دیان اجڑ گیا کھید (کھیت)

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1 Cf. the statement by Macauliffe :

"Hymns are found in Persian, mediæval Prakrit, Hindi, Marathi, Old Punjābī, and several local dialects. In several hymns the Sanskrit and Arabic vocabularies are freely drawn upon." [The Sikh Religion, Vol. 1, Preface, p. iii. Oxford, 1909.]

جاگو رے جن جاگنا اب جاگن کی بار
پھر کب جاگو نانکا جب سوو پانوں پسار

متراں دوست مال دھن چھوڑ چلے ات بھائے
سنگ نہ کوئي نانکا رہ ھنس اکیلا جائے

A most wonderful feat of this age is the accomplishment of 'ghazal' in Urdū language. There is no evidence to show that 'ghazal' had attained such polish and perfection before Sikandar's time. Khusrau is believed to have laid the foundation of lyric poetry, but no instance of same, save a mixed Hindī-Persian 'ghazal' of doubtful authenticity, is in existence today. While Kabīr's ghazals, of which a specimen is quoted below, are conclusive and composed in soft Hindī which is but Urdū.

Kabīr's Urdū 'ghazal': a wonderful feat of the age.

غزل

ھمن ھي عشق مستانہ ھمن کو ھوشیاري کیا
رھیں آزاد یا جگ میں ھمن دنیا سے یاري کیا

جو بچھڑے ھیں پیارے سے بھٹکتے دربدر پھرتے
ھمارا یار ھي ھم میں ھمن کو انتظاري کیا

خلق سب نام اپنے کو بہت کر سر پٹکتا ھے
ھمن گرو نام سانچا ھے ھمن دنیا سے یاري کیا

نہ پل بچھڑیں پیا ھم سے نہ ھم بچھڑیں پیارے سے
انھیں سے نیہ لاگي ھے ھمن کو بیقراري کیا

کبیرا عشق کا ماتا دوئي کو دور کر دل سے
جو چلنا راہ نازک ھے ھمن کو بوجھہ بھاري کیا

KABĪR—THE POET

[*By kind permission of the owner, Mr Badri Prasad, B A , Benares City*]

Kabir's language is most simple throughout as could be seen in his numerous 'pahilis' and poems which stand high for their Sūfistic and moral teachings. Nearly all his poetry is in plain spoken language of the people and not in the literary tongue. Some specimens are as follows :—

His 'pahilis' and other verses, and their chief feature.

کانکر پاتھر جوڑ کے مسجد لئی چنائے
تا چڑھ ملا بانگ دے کیا بہرا ہوا خدائے

پوتھی پڑھ پڑھ جگ موا پنڈت ہوا نہ کوی
ڈھائي اکچھر پریم کا پڑھے سو پنڈت ہوی

کبیر شریر سرائے ہے کیوں سوئے سکھ چین
کوچ نقارا سانس کا باجت ہے دن رین

سانجھ پڑے دن بیتوے چکوي دنیا روي
چل چکوا اس دیس کو جہاں رین نا ہوي

ماٹی کہے کمہار کو تو کیا روندھے موي
اکدن ایسا ہوئیگا میں روندونگي توي

نینوں کي کر کوٹھری پتلي پلنگ بچھائے
پلکوں کي چق ڈالکے پي کو لیا رجھائے

پہیلي

سگوا پنجروا چھوڑکر بھاگا
اس پنجرے میں دس دروازا
دسوں دروازہ کنوڑوا لاگا
کہت کبیر سنو بھائی سادھو
اُڑ گیو ہنس ٹوٹ گیو تاگا

People had even begun to adopt Urdū construction and words in their names in supersession of Arabic and Persian, for example, the name 'Ilāh Diya'[1] of a leading Persian and Arabic scholar of Sikandar's time is an Urdū-Arabic compound with a pure Urdū construction.

An earlier specimen of Urdū.

Another instance of the spoken Urdū about half a century earlier, when 'Alā'uddīn II was ruling at Ahmadābād (1435—57 A.D.) is as follows:—

[2] روزي حضرت قطب الاقطاب (سيد برهان الدين) وقت تهجد از براي نزاهت استنجاش ميرفتند - ناگاه پاي مبارك ايشان بر چوبي خورده - درد كرده - بے اختيار از زبان مبارك ايشان بر آمد كه "لوہ ھے يا لكر ھے يا پتھر ھے يا كيا ھے" يعنی آهن است يا چوب است يا سنگ است يا چه چيز است -

The overlined sentence in this passage is noteworthy. It is a pure Urdū expression almost as good as one could find anywhere, and was uttered by a celebrated saint Sayyid Burhānuddīn who died at Ahmadābād in 1453 A.D. After such vivid historical reminiscences there is left hardly a doubt that Urdū had by this time gained a firm hold on the people and was also among the spoken tongues of Hindūstān since the time of Khusrau, as a result of which one meets with such instances in the subsequent period covered by the Tughlaq, the Lodī, and the Mughal rule.

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[1] Badāunī, Vol. 1, p. 324.

Note.—" الٰہ " Arabic, meaning "God," and "دیا" Urdū Past Participle of the Verb "دینا." Ilāh Diya, therefore, means "God-given." [Cf. its Persian equivalent "خدا بخش" or "خدا داد".]

[2] Mir'āt i Sikandari, B. M., Add. 26, 277, fol. 147.

SULṬĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ

[From an album kindly lent by Nawāb Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Jaunpūr, U.P.]

CHAPTER V

The reign of Sikandar Lodī is most important in this connection as being the chief period in which Hindī and Persian grew in intimate relationship with each other, so that their reciprocal influence led also to a distinction between the Persian Persian and the Indian Persian. Though this influence was in operation since long before the coming of the Lodīs to power, as is already noticed in the works of the two prominent poets, Chandko'ī and Shāh Sharaf, who flourished in the 6th and the 8th centuries A. H., respectively, yet it was not as a matter of fact so perceptible as in the reign of Sikandar Lodī when the Hindūs for the first time in their history took to reading Persian as an avowed language of culture, and as a means of getting ranks in the administration with the golden prospect of falling into the royal favour if fortune helped.

Literary significance of Sikandar Lodī's reign: a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India.

Sikandar, on his accession to the throne in 1489 A.D., attempted to instal those of his subjects who possessed the classical knowledge of Persian, in the responsible offices of the government. Seeing such a predilection for Persian, certain sections among the Hindus, particularly the Kāyasthas, turned their attention to Muslim lore and made a vigorous attempt to acquire an appreciable knowledge of Persian. Farishta writes thus:

[1] وکافران بخواندن و نوشتن خط فارسي که تاآن
زمان درمیان ایشان معمول نه بود پرداختند –

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1 Farishta, Vol. I, p. 344.

> And the unbelievers took to reading and writing Persian which was not a practice among them till that time.

The consequence was that the Hindus and such of the native Muslims as whose mother-tongue was Hindī, began to introduce into their language words from Persian and Arabic. This was a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India, in being in a great measure responsible for its divergence from the main central unit. The Hindūs as well as the native Muslims shortly developed such a taste for Persian that their poets frequently used Persian words in the wake of Bhāka, with the result that a number of Persian official and legal terms together with other common colloquial expressions obtained currency in their mouth in a somewhat different sense from that in which they were understood in Persia. Many words coined under local influences also came into vogue, and gaining the stamp of currency were admitted even by prominent writers like Abul Fazl, Badāūnī, Farishta, and Nizām-uddīn Ahmad.[1]

This state of affairs arose chiefly from the lack of Persian vocabulary in expressing certain local customs and indigenous products.

To sum up the whole, Persian as it developed in India evidently under the influence of Indian dialects, was slowly deviating from its centre, the Persian Persian, which in Persia, grew in a totally different environment as being constantly influenced by Turkish, French, Arabic, and Russian idiom.[2] Also, the authors in India never seemed to have felt the need for recasting their style by a reference to Per-

Summary of the causes which led to a distinction between Persian Persian and the Indian Persian.

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1 For illustrations refer supra, Chapter VII

2 For illustrations *vide* supra, p. 137

sia, due perhaps to a sense of *par excellence*. Very many words crystallised by usage and accepted by society's verdict strayed from their original meaning, and were retained here in a different sense altogether; while others becoming obsolete in Persia, being ruled out from time to time by fresh ones in their stead, under foreign pressure (chiefly Turkish, Russian, French and Arabic), remained both inaccessible to and unwished for by the Indian writers. Even the fresh bands of literate Persians and their best poets like ' Urfī, Zuhūrī, Tālib Āmulī, Nazīrī, Sā'ib, and others, on their entry into Hindūstān, recognised such words and incorporated them in their compositions.[1]

In short, Bābur came to India at a time when the influence of Hindī over Persian was distinctly beginning to be felt. Since Sikandar's time nearly all sections of people in Upper Hindūstān, be they Hindūs or Muslims, had taken to studying Persian as their sole literary tongue.

A parrot speaking Persian.

A curious instance has been mentioned by Bābur that a parrot without being previously taught by any one, spontaneously uttered two Persian sentences which were just to suit the bird's requirements on respective occasions. This evidently cannot happen unless it be presumed that in the house in which she was brought up, Persian was spoken most of the time and was the common feature of the household talks. The following incident is quoted from his Memoirs:

> People call it the Kashmīr parrot . . . It is an excellent learner of words. We used to think that whatever a parrot or a '*maina*' might say of words,

[1] For illustrations *vide* supra, Chapter VII.

people had taught it: it could not speak of any matter out of its own head. At this juncture, one of my immediate servants, Abul Qāsim (Jalā'ir) reported a singular thing to me. A parrot of this sort whose cage must have been covered up said:

[1] روي مرا وا كن دمگير شدم

Uncover my face I am stifling.

At another time when *pālkī* bearers sat down to take breath, this parrot, presumably on hearing wayfarers pass by, said:

[2] مردم رفتند نمي رويد

Men have gone past: are you not going on?

As a result of the policy adopted by Sikandar Lodī in popularising Persian language throughout his dominions, the masses consisting both of Hindūs and Muslims used to speak and think in Persian. Badāūnī mentions a curious incident based on his personal experience. In his description of the battle of Pānīpat he observes:

Persian was the spoken tongue of Ibrāhīm's camp.

[3] از کشته پشته پشته شد و جمعي که باقي ماندند
طعمه زاغ وزغن گشته و مدت دوقرن ازان واقعه
تا زمان این منتخب گذشته که هنوز در شبها آوازهٔ
ده و ستان وبکش و بزن ازان میدان بگوش سامعان
میرسد ودر سنه ۹۹۷ جامع این اوراق نیز وقت سحر
که از بلدهٔ لاهور بجانب فتحپور میرفت وعبور دران

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1 Bābur Nāma, fol. 278

2 Ibid

3 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 335, Calcutta, 1869.

میدان افتاد این صدای هولناك بگوش آمد وجماعه
که همراه بودند خیال کردند که مگر غنیم پیدا شد
انچه شنیده بود دید -

Pile over pile was formed of the dead, and the heap which remained exposed became a morsel of the raven and the kite; and the space of two generations has elapsed since that occurrence to the time of this *Muntakhab* (abridged history) that the sound of 'give' and 'take,' and 'strike' and 'kill' reaches the ears of the audience from that plain; and in the year 997, the compiler of these pages also, one morning, while travelling from the city of Lāhore towards Fathepūr, happened to cross that plain, the same frightening sound came to the ears and the party that bore company thought that perchance an enemy had appeared. What I had heard, I saw.

CHAPTER VI

The literary men of the age comprising poets, historians, philosophers, and theologians, who wrote Persian easily, occupy a long roll, and are alphabetically arranged as follows, with distinctive marks of reference against each. They are chiefly those who have been noticed by him in his Memoirs, and will be found more completely dealt with in the works of contemporary historians like the Habibus-siyar of Khwandamir; Tuhfa--i-Sāmi of Prince Sām Mirzā; and Tazkiratush Shua'rā of Daulat Shāh Samarqandi

Scholars and men of skill who were contemporary with Bābur

I. Āsafi [286*]; Āhi [289*; 2||].
'Ādili [111*]. Ātashi†

II. Bannā'i [136*; 286] Bayāni [278*].
Bū Sa'id [292*].

III. Daulat Shāh. Ghurbati [261*]
Gulbadan Bēgum.

IV. Hātifi [288*; 104**]. Hilāli [292*; 55||].
Haidar Mirzā [22*].
Hasan-i-'Ali Jalā'ir (or Tufaili) [278*; 286].
Husaini [256-259]* 'Ishrāq Asfahāni [7||].
Jalāluddin Dawwāni [111‡‡].
Jāmi [286*; 283; 507†].

V. Khwāja Kalān [525*]. Khwandamir [605*; 683].
Khwāja Abul Barakāt [137*; 362¶].
Khāksār [448*; 581]. Kāmi [290*].
Khwāja Maulānā Qāzi [89*].

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* Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, London, 1921

|| Riza Quli Khan, Majma'ul Fusaha Tihran, 1295 A.H

‡ Badauni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Calcutta, 1865.

** Sām Mirzā Tuhfa-i-Sāmi, Or. 648, U. L. C.

‡‡ Khwandamir, Habibus Siyar, Bombay, 1857.

† Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.

¶ Muhammad Qasim, Tarikh-i-Farishta, ut supra.

VI. Mīr ʻ Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [271* ; 286 ; 217‡‡].
Mullā Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī [503†].
Mīrzā Muhammad Sālih [289*].
Mīr Khwand [198‡‡ ; 339].
Mīr Husain Mu'ammā'ī [201* ; 288].
Muhammad Tālib Mu'ammā'ī [201*].
Mullā ʻ Abdul Ghafur Lārī [284*].
Maulānā Shihāb [605* ; 683].
Mīr ʻ Ibrāhīm [605*].
Maulānā Mahmūd [476*].
Maulānā Shaikh Husain [283*].
Mīrza Barkhurdār Turkmān [viii§].
Mullā Zāda Mullā ʻ Usmān [284*].
Mīr Jamāluddīn Muhaddis [284*].
Mullā ʻ Alī Jān [448*].
Mīr ʻ Alā'uddīn Mashhadī [285*].
Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf [285*].
Maulana Sadr [356¶].
Mīr Murtāz [284*].

VII. Qāzī Ikhtiyār [285*]. Qāsimī [26**].
Shaikh Zainuddīn [553 - 559* ; 683]. Saifī [288*].
Sultān Muzaffar [481*]. Sanā'ī [362¶].
Sām Mīrzā [83‡‡]. Sulaimān Shāh [31||].
Shaikh ʻ Abdul Wajd [621*]. Suhailī [277*; 286].
Shaikhul 'Islām Mullā Saifuddīn Ahmad Taftāzānī [283*].
Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliārī [539*; 265**].

VIII. Wafā'ī [38*]. Wafā'ī of Deccan [62||].
Yūsuf Badī'ī [289*].

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* Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābur, London, 1921
‡‡ Khwandamīr Habībus Siyar, Bombay, 1857.
† Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion.
§ Rushbrook-Williams, Bābur—An Empire-builder of the 16th century.
¶ Muhammad Qasim, Tarikh-i-Farishta, ut supra
** Sām Mīrzā, Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, Or 648, U. L. C.
|| Riza Qulī Khan, Majma'ul Fusaha Tihran, 1295 A H.

Of the above scholars some who ranked high in his estimation or subsequently achieved a name as an author, together with those who interviewed him in India or were his contemporaries there, are grouped as follows:

(A) Poets.

Jāmī, Suhailī, Tufailī, Bayānī, Husainī, Fānī, Sulaiman Shāh, Wafā'ī of Deccan, Qāsimī, Ātāshī, Maulānā Shihāb, Mīr Ibrāhīm, Āhī, Hilālī, Bū Sā'īd, Bannā'ī, Hātifī.

(B) Historians

Haidar Mīrzā, Mīr Khwand, Khwandamīr, Sām Mīrzā, Mīrzā Barkhurdār Turkmān, Mīrza Muhammad Sālih, Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, Gulbadan Bēgum.

(C) Philosophers and Theologians

Mullā Saifuddīn Ahmad Taftāzānī, Jalāluddīn Dawwānī, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliārī, Shaikh Zainuddīn, Mullā Zāda Mullā 'Usmān, Mullā Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī, Mīr Murtāz, Mīr Muhammad Yūsuf, Qāzī Ikhtiyār, Mīr Ātā'ūllāh Mashhadī, Mullā 'Ābdul Ghafūr Lārī, Mīr Jamāluddīn Muhaddis, Maulānā Shaikh Husain, Maulānā Mahmūd.

(D) Pen-men, Painters and Musicians.

Sultān 'Ālī Mashhadī, Bihzād, Shāh-Muzaffar Shaikhī Nāyī, Qul Muhammad, Shāh Qulī.

A short description of each of these, in the words of Bābur where necessary, is given below :

A Jāmī

"The all-surpassing head of the poet-band was Maulānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī. He was unrivalled in his day for esoteric and exoteric knowledge. Famous indeed are his poems. The Mullā's dignity it is out of my power to describe ; it has occurred to me merely to mention his name and one atom of his excellence,

as a benediction and good omen for this part of my humble book."[1]

So far was Bābur's remark about Jāmī. His real name was 'Abdur Rahmān and surnames 'Imāduddīn and Nūr-uddīn. He was born at Jām, a village in Herāt, in 817 A.H., and died in 898 A H At his death Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī had composed a chronogram in Persian which is as follows:

[2] کاشف سر الهي بود بيشك زان سبب
گشت تاريخ وفاتش کاشف سراله

He took the pen-name Jāmī for two reasons .
(i) To indicate his connection with Jām, and
(ii) To show that his writings saturated with the wine of spiritualism :

[3] مولدم جام ور شحه قلمم * جرعه جام شيخ الاسلامي است
زان سبب در جريده اشعار * بدو معني تخلصم جامي است

> My birth-place is Jām, and the drop of my pen, is the draught of the jām,(cup) of Shaykh-ul-Islām ;
> For that reason in the book of my verses, Jāmī is my pen-name to serve the two meanings.

He is recognised as one of the most learned Sūfīs and mystic poets of Persia. His works as enumerated in Tuhfa i Sāmī[4] are 47 in number, while Wālih Dāghistānī

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, pp 283, 286. For detailed notice of Jāmī, see Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion

[2] 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, Riyāzush Shu'arā—Add. 16, 729, B M , fol. 100b.

[3] ' Abdul Ghafūr Lārī, Commentary on Nāfhāt, fol 173a, Or. 218, B. M.

[4] Or. 648, fol 93a , U. L C

places them at 54 equal to the numerical value of the letters of his pen-name 'Jāmī.' Some of his best known works are the following :

Prose—

1. Nafhātul 'Uns (or Perfumes of Love) is a biography of saints. It is an abridged translation of the Arabic work Tabaqātus Sūfiya, and is most popular among Sūfīs.
2. Shawāhidun Nubuwwat (or Evidences of Prophethood).
3. Bahāristān (or Spring-field). A treatise written in imitation of Sa'dī's Gulistān, but less successful.
4. Lawā'ih (or flashes of light). A tract in mixed verse and prose on mystical utterances
5. Sharhul Lam'āt. A commentary on 'Irāqī's metrical version entitled 'Lam'āt,' undertaken at the desire of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī.
6. Sharh i Jāmī, a commentary on 'Kāfiya,' the famous Arabic grammar of Ibnul Hājib.

Poetry—

7. Sab'atul Haq, also called Haft Aurang (or seven brothers—not thrones [1]), is a collection

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[1] Cf Browne, "Seven Thrones" Pers Lit. under Tārtar Dom., p. 515.

Note the following authoritative statement rejecting Browne's view :

و چون این مثنویات هفتگانه بمنزله هفت برادراند که از پشت خامه
واسطی نهاد و شکم مادر دوات چینی نژاد به سعادت ولادت رسیده اند ......
مینماید که بهفت اورنگ که در لغت فرس قدیم عبارتست از هفت برادران

of seven Masnawis reckoned as next to Nizāmī's Khamsa. Of these the most successful is Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā.

8. Masnawī Ka'ba—composed in praise of the sacred Harem—is considered as one of the finest works unapproached in poetic excellences.
9. Kulliyāt-i-Jāmī—which includes his Dīwān, containing 'rubā' iyāt' and 'ghazals.'

He died at Herāt mourned by the whole populace. Some think that he was the last great poet of Persian language. This is an error. He may be the last great mystic poet but not the last great classical poet of Persian language. These two statements are of distinct significance, and neither should be confused with the other.

Jāmī not as the last great poet but as the last great mystic poet of Persian language.

Probably no person whose poetry displays mysticism to such an extent with poetic greatness has since come into existence. Both in his lifetime and after he was considered as an 'Ārif and a model for Sūfī poetry. Thus writes Muhi-i-Lārī, a distinguished pupil of Jalāluddīn Dawwānī:

که هفت کواکب اند ...... نامزده میشود –

And since these seven masnawīs are like seven brothers that have been blessed with the birth from the back of the father, pen, of Wāsta disposition, and the womb of the mother, inkpot, of Chinese descent, it is meet that they should be named 'Haft Aurang,' which in old Persian means seven brothers who are seven stars. [Preface to same, fol. 1a, Add. 7770, B. M.]

[1] گر بودت ازسخن‌ما ملال * گوش کن‌از عارف جام‌این‌مقال

If thou art grieved at my discourse,
Hear from the 'Ārif of Jām this speech.

Another poet Hāshimī Kirmānī says :

[2] شرح کمالات نظامی کنم * پیروی خسرو و جامی کنم
چون مئے خسرو بتمامی رسید * دور مئے عشق بجامی رسید
انچه‌توان‌گفت نظامی ربود * باقی آن خسرو و جامی ربود

I may explain the perfections of Nizāmī,
I may follow in the footsteps of Khusrau and Jāmī,
When the wine of Khusrau came to a finish,
The cup of the wine of love passed to Jāmī ;
What could be said was carried off by Nizāmī,
The rest thereof by Khusrau and Jāmī.

Jamī's influence in India is perhaps more than that of any other poet after Sa'dī, Khusrau, and Hāfiz. While his Sūfistic poetry laid hold on the hearts of the general public, his Arabic commentary on 'Kāfiya,' commonly called 'Sharh-i-Mullā Jāmī, won the admiration of the student world, and remained a standard and a favourite book of study in all the Arabic Institutions

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[1] Masnawī Futūhul Haramain, Or 343, B M., fol 10a puts the verse more clearly as follows

گر بودت از سخن من ملال * گوش کن از عارف جامی مقال

[2] Masnawī Mazharul Āsār—Add 6631, B M.

of Upper Hindustān, the Punjāb, Bengāl, and the Deccan.

They are mentioned by Bābur after Jāmi:—

"The all-surpassing head of the poet-band was Mawlānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī. Others were Shaykham Suhaylī and Hasan 'Alī of Jalā'ir."[1] Suhaylī put a Dīwān together; *masnawīs* of his are also in existence."[2]

Suhailī and Tufailī

"Hasan 'Alī of Jalā'ir made Tufaylī his pen-name, wrote good odes, and was the master of this art in his day."[3]

The author of Majma'ul Fusaha calls Suhailī by the name of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, and says that he had composed two Dīwāns, one in Persian and the other in Turki.[4]

"Khwāja 'Abdullāh Marwārīd was another. He was at first Chief Justice, but later on became Mirza's favourite household Bēgs. He was full of accomplishments; on the dulcimer he had no equal, and he invented the shake on the dulcimer; he wrote in several scripts most beautifully in the *ta'līq*; he composed admirable letters, wrote good verse with Bayānī for his pen-name, and was a pleasant companion. Compared with his other accomplishments his verse ranks low, but he knew what was poetry."[5]

Bayānī

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p 286

2 Ibid., 277.

3 Ibid., 278

4 Rizā Qulī Khān, Majma'ul Fusahā, p. 31

5 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 278.

Sultān Husain Mīrza, ruler of Khurāsan, Herāt, and Merv, was poetically surnamed *Husainī*.[1] His reign is notable for the advancement of culture and learning. Jāmī Mīrkhwand, Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, Mullā Husain Wa'iz Kashifi, Mullā Saifuddīn Ahmad Taftazānī, Khwandamīr, and many other eminent scholars flourished at this time and were in some way or other connected with his court. The great Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī was one of his court nobles and is chiefly noted for his munificent encouragement to his learned contemporaries who in their turn dedicated some of their works to him in acknowledgment to his liberal support.[2]

Husainī.

" 'Alī Shīr Bēg had no match. For as long as verse had been written in the Turkī tongue, no one has written so much or so well as he. He wrote six books of poems (masnawī) five of them answering

Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī.

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1 Cf Browne, Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, p 456.

" He wrote good poetry under the nom-de-guerre ' Hasan ' " This is an error, for not only the Turkī text (fol. 164 b) confirms the same, but that in his own composition he uses ' Husainī, ' *not Hasan*, for his pen-name .

چون حسینی خویش را خواهم دگر پیرانه سر
مستی و سر در سجدهٔ ریبا جوانی ماند اسی

[Tuhfa i Sāmī fol. 11a, Or. 648, U L.C.]

2 A parallel contemporary instance of the like patronage of the men of letters at an Indian court is to be found in Deccan in the person of Mahmūd Gāwān who, in the words of Dr Rieu, " was celebrated no less for his literary talent than for his boundless liberalities." [Catalogue of Persian MSS in the British Museum, Vol. 11, p. 528]

He perhaps excelled Mīr 'Alī Shīr, since Jāmī, who happened to be at his court by mere accident of Herāt being his native place, was apparently not satisfied there and used to send his verses to Deccan in praise of Mahmūd Gāwān, in the hope of his acceptance of them. For verses *vide* supra, p. 142.

to the *Quitet* (Khamsah), the sixth, entitled the Lisānut-Tayr (Tongue of the birds), was in the same metre as the Mantiqut-Tayr (Speech of the birds). He put together four Dīwāns (collection of odes), bearing the names 'Curiosities of Childhood,' 'Marvels of Youth,' 'Wonders of Manhood,' and 'Advantages of Age.' There are good quatrains of his also. Some others of his compositions rank below those mentioned; amongst them is a collection of his letters imitating that of Mawlānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī, and aiming at gathering together any letter on any topic he had ever written to any person. He wrote also the Mīzānul Awzān (scale of measures) on Prosody; he has made mistakes in it about the metres of four out of twenty-four quatrains, while about other measures he has made mistakes such as any one who has given attention to prosody will understand. He put a Persian *dīwān* together also, *Fānī* being his pen-name for Persian verse. Some couplets in it are not bad but for the most part it is flat and poor. In music also he composed good things—some excellent airs and preludes. No such patron and protector of men of parts and accomplishments is known nor has one such been heard of as ever appearing. It was through his instruction and support that Ustād Qul Muhammad, the lutanist, Shaykhī, the flautist, and Husayn, the lutanist, famous performers all, rose to eminence and renown. It was through his effort and supervision that Ustād Bihzād, and Shāh Muzaffar became so distinguished in painting. Few are heard of as having helped to lay the good foundation for future excellence he helped to lay."[1]

He died in 1500 A.D , leaving a useful work in Turkī language entitled 'Majālisul Nafā'is' [or the Assembly of

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, pp. 271-272

the elite], which afterwards was translated into Persian by Fakhrī Sultān Muhammad-bin-i-Amīrī under the title 'Latā'if Nāmā.'[1] Besides this he wrote a treatise on Sūfism entitled 'Tazkiratul-Auliyā or the Memoirs of Saints, and a counter reply to Nizāmī's Khamsa. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's taste for Persian poetry and his composed verses have had the recognition of some of the best poets of the time. Once on the occasion of Jāmī's safe return from Hejāz he composed a beautiful quatrain welcoming him home and sent it on to him :

[2] انصاف بده ای فلک مینا فام
تازین دو کدام خوبتر کرد خرام
یا مهر جهانتاب تو از جانب صبح
یا ماه جهانگرد من از جانب شام

Give justice, O blue sky,
Which of these two walked more beautifully ;
Either thy world-illuminating sun from the side of Morn,
Or my world-traversing moon from the side of Eve.

Sulaimān Shāh.

He was Bābur's cousin, and ruled in Badakhshān with his uncle's consent. He is mentioned here chiefly on account of his close connection with India. He had a fine taste for poetry and composed verses both in Turkī and Persian. One of his elegiac quatrains which he wrote on the death of his son Ibrāhīm is a good specimen of his composition :

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1 Add, 7669, MSS, B M.

2 Tārīkh i Rashīdī : fol. 148b, ut supra Note the suggestivity of the word شام which is also the name for Syria

[1] ای لعل بدخشان ز بدخشان رفتي
مانندهٔ خورشید درخشان رفتي
در دهر چو خاتم سلیمان بودي
افسوس که از دست سلیمان رفتي

O ruby of Badakhshān ! thou went away from it,
Gone like the brilliant sun ;
Like the ring of Solomon thou wast in the world,
Alas ! (that) thou hast slipped away from the hand of Solomon.

He entered into poetical competitions with the Turkish Admiral : Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs [2] : who was called by Humāyūn as " second Mīr 'Alī Shīr." On his throne being usurped by Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, he repaired to India, and was received by Akbar with the greatest affection and kindness. He died at Lahore in 997 A.H.

Sultān Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh who wrote poetry under the pen-name ' Wafā'ī ' was the son of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh of Deccan. He ascended the throne in 916 A.H., and ruled till 941 A.H. He was Bābur's contemporary in India. Some of his verses are quoted by Riza Qulī Khān - in his biography of Persian poets.[3]

Wafā'ī of Deccan

His name was Mīrzā Qāsim Jūnābādī. He wrote under the pen-name Qāsimī several Masnawīs and poems of which the following deserve notice :

Qāsimī

(i) Shāh Nāma-i-Māzī, a versified history of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī.

1 Majma'ul Fusahā, p. 31.
2 A Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, p. 66.
3 Majmā'ul Fusahā, p. 31.

(ii) Shāh Nama-i-Nāwāb-i-A'lā, a similar history of his successor Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Mīrzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī and Sām Mīrzā both mention his name with respect and recognise him as a great scholar and a poet unrivalled in his day in Masnawī writing :

'میرزا قاسم که قاسمي تخلص میکند به علم و فهم و فراست ممتاز و مستغني است و در شعر و عروض و معما سر آمد است ... با کثر کمالات پیراسته است '
همه اقسام شعر میگوید اما در مثنوي سرآمدست و کسے دریں زمانه مثنوي را بهتر ازو نگفته -

Mīrzā Qāsim who writes under the pen-name Qāsimī is rich and distinguished in knowledge, understanding, and quick perception ; and is supreme in prosody and enigma. He is endowed with many perfections and composes all sorts of poetry, but in masnawī-writing stands ahead, and nobody has, in this age written masnawī better than him.

Mīrzā 'Alāuddaula tells us that while he was on his way to India, he met Qāsimī in his old age in Kāshān, and that the latter wrote a letter to the emperor Akbar enumerating his poetical works, and gave it to him to be delivered to his royal addressee. On the same authority we learn that he was a distinguished mathematician as well—a qualification so rarely combined with poetry :

Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, fol. 28a. Or. 648, U. L. C.

ودر ریاضیات بے بدلزمان خوداست[1]

And in Mathematics he is unrivalled in his age.

His letter in the original is reproduced below to give an idea of the form of address and the style which was generally followed in those days and considered as a merit of writing :

[2]بندۀ کمترین قاسم جنابدي بذروۀ عرض ملازمان
درگاه عرش اشتباه پادشاه خلائق پناه خلد الله تعالي
ظلال دولته و معدلته علي مفارق العالمين ' مير ساند
که فلاني درگذر گاهي که متوجه سفر هند بودند
اين کمينه بخدمت ايشان رسيدم و فرصت بغايت تنگ '
ازين مخلص استدعاي بعضي ابيات کردند
عجالة الوقت خودرا بوسيله صفت معراج حضرت نبوي
مذکور ضمير منير اقدس ساخت ' انشاء الله تعالي کتاب
شاهنامۀ ماضي که چهار هزار و پانصد بيت است
و شاهنامۀ نواب اعلي که آن نيز اين قدر است
و شاهرخنامه که پنج هزار بيت است و ليلي مجنون که
سه هزار بيت است و خسرو شيرين که آن نيز سه هزار
بيت است و زبدة الاشعار که چهار هزار و پانصد بيت
است بحر مخزن الاسرار و گوي چوگان که دو هزار

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1 Mirzā 'Alāuddaula Qazwīnī, Nafā'isul Ma'āsir, fol. 79a. [In private possession]

2 Ibid.

و پانصد بیت است تمامي بخدمت فرستاده میشود -
,الا مراحلي -

Shortly after, he sent all his works to the court of Akbar and was profusely rewarded by the emperor.

He came to India while quite young and remained here till his death which took place at Lahore in the year 973 A.H. Badāūnī has quoted several verses of his of which the following three are reproduced as truly depicting the Indian style and the renaissance that poetry was then undergoing in India :

Ātashī Qandhārī.

[1] سرشکم رفته رفته بیتو دریا شد تما شا کن
بیا در کشتي چشمم نشین و سیر دریا کن

My tear, in thy separation, has gradually turned into a sea : behold !
Come sit in the boat of my eye and enjoy the maritime trip.

[2] خنجر بمیان تیغ بکف چین بجبین باش
خون ریز و جفا پیشه کن و برسر کین باش

Be ever ready with dagger in thy waist, sword in thy hand, and shrink on thy brow ;
Shed blood, adopt tyranny as thy profession, and be waging war.

[3] درشفق گشت شب عید نمایان مه نو
تا کنیم از پي جام مے گلگون تگ و دو

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. III, p 180

2 Ibid

3 Ibid , p. 181.

In the twilight became visible the new moon on the night of 'Īd,

So that we may run after a cup of rosy red wine.

He was at first an anecdote-writer in Bābur's service but later on installed in the high offices of the government. Such a consummate touch of beauty in expression as his with dainty similes is easily distinguishable in the works of those who came and settled in India. He was an ordinary poet when he first came with Bābur and was not even noticed by him, but under the influence of Indian atmosphere gained a gracefulness which was long coveted by the poets in Persia.

Mīr Ibrāhīm and Maulānā Shihāb.

These two along with Khwandamīr interviewed Bābur at Āgra in September, 1528 A.D.

> "Next day waited on me the historian Khwandamīr, Maulānā Shihāb, the enigmatist, and Mīr Ibrāhīm—the harper . . . . who had all come out of Herī long before, wishing to wait on me."[1]

Bābur had also, on one occasion, sent a couplet of his own composition to Shaikh Zainuddīn, Mullā Shihāb, and Khwandamīr, inviting them all to meet him on the day of 'Īd festival at Maing in the Sultānpūr district:

Shaikh and Mullā Shihāb, and Khwandamīr, come all three, or two, or one.[2]

They have been cited as poets and praised for varied accomplishments by Sām Mīrzā.[3]

Badāūnī styles Mullā Shihāb as Maulānā Shihābuddīn and speaks very highly of his learning. He quotes an instance of his overcoming once in discussion with the famous Traditionalist Mīr Jamāluddīn in Khurāsān. He

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 605.

2 Ibid., p. 683.

3 Tuhfa i Sāmī, fols. 50; 154a, Or. 648, U. L. C.

died in India during the reign of Humāyūn when the latter was returning from Gujarāt in 942 A.H.[1] Khwandamīr the famous historian found the year of his death in the most suggestive phrase "شهاب ثاقب" (Shihābus Sāqib).

Āhī—" A good ode-writer and sāhib i Dīwān."[2]

Āhī and Hilālī.

Hilali:—" Correct and graceful though his odes are, they make little impression. There is a Dīwān of his; and there is also the poem (masnavī) in the Khafīf measure, entitled ' Shāh u darwīsh.' It is heard said that Hilālī had a very retentive memory and that he had by heart thirty or forty thousand couplets, and the greater part of the two *quintets* all most useful for the minutiæ of prosody and the art of verse."[3]

Bū Sā'īd.

" An unrivalled man was the wrestler Muhammad Bū Sā'īd; he was foremost among the wrestlers, wrote verse too, composed themes and airs, one excellent air of his being in Chārgāh (four time), and he was pleasant company. It is extraordinary that accomplishments as his should be combined with wrestling."[4]

Bannā'i.

He was a native of Herāt, and took this pen-name after his father's profession ' bannā ' which means an architect or builder.

" His odes have grace and ecstacy. He was very intelligent and quick to learn things. Within a few months he learnt music and composed several works. At such a marvellous achievement all amazed, ' Alī Shīr Bēg praised him. His musical

1 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p 342.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 289.

3 Ibid., p. 290.

4 Ibid., p. 292.

compositions are perfect. He was 'Alī Shīr Bēg's rival." [1]

"'Abdullāh, the masnawī-writer, was from Jām and was the Mullā's sister's son. Hātifī was his pen-name. He wrote poems in emulation of the Two Quintets, and called them Haft Manzar (seven sights) in imitation of the Haft Paikar (seven figures). In emulation of the Sikandar Nāma, he composed the Timūr Nāma. His most renowned masnawī is Lailā and Majnūn, but its reputation is greater than its charm." [2]

Hātifī.

Sām Mīrzā assigns him a high rank among poets, and places him above many of his contemporaries in the art of Masnawī-writing. [3]

11. Haidar Mīrzā Dūghlāt.

Bābur has noticed Haidar Mīrzā (then only a boy of 12), as a writer and a poet, but not as a historian, which is his subsequent qualification :

> "Khūb Nigār's son was Haidar Mīrzā. He has a hand left in everything, penmanship and painting . . . Moreover he is a born poet, and in a petition written to me even his style is not bad." [4]

Muhammad Haidar Mīrzā Gūrkān Dūghlāt Chaghtā'ī, the author of the Tārīkh i Rashīdī, was born in 1499 A.D., and died in 1551 A.D. He was Bābur's cousin and remained for some time in his service at Andijān. After Bābur's death he came to India in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D.), and lived here in the service of Humāyūn till 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.), when he was put to death by some rebel chiefs in Kashmīr, of which he was at first appointed

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1 Ibid., 286.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 288.

3 Tuhfa i Sāmi, Or. 648, fol. 104a, U. L. C.

4 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 22.

Governor but had subsequently become an independent ruler during Humāyūn's exile. His work Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī was completed in Kashmīr in the year 953 A.H.,[1] and is divided into two parts :

(i) History of the Khāns of the Mongols.

(ii) Memoirs of the author's life and of other Chaghtā'i princes.

"It is the production of a learned and accomplished man . . . and interspersed with geographical accounts of countries especially to the East of Māwarā-un-Nahr little known in Europe. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the commentaries of Bābur which it illuminates in every page."[2]

Muhammad bin i Khwāwand Shāh bin i Mahmūd, commonly called Mīrkhwand, was born in 837 A.H. and died at the age of 66 in 903 A.H. He is the author of a well-known work Rauzatus Safā which he wrote and dedicated to his patron Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī. It is a universal history of Prophets, Khulafā, and kings up to the author's time, and is considered a consummate work as a book of reference. Khwandamīr was his grandson. His full name was Ghiyāsuddīn bin i Humāmuddīn surnamed Khwandamīr. He is the author of Habībus-Siyar which like that of his grandfather's is a general history from the earliest times down to his own. He was born in Herāt in 880 A.H. and died in Gujarāt (India) in 941 A.H. Besides Habībus-Siyar, which he undertook at the desire of Ghiyāuddaulah Amīr Muhammad al Husainī[3] (a person much interested in history), and completed at the encouragement given

Mīrkhwand and Khwandamīr.

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[1] Tārīkh i Rashīdī, fol. 96b, Or. 157, B.M.

[2] Erskine, Bābur and Humayūn, Vol. I, p. 192.

[3] Habībus-Siyar, Preface p. 3, Tihrān, 1270 A.H.

by the governor of the town Khwājā Habībullāh,[1] after whose name the book is called, he is the author of the following works :

1. Dastūrul wuzarā [Code for Ministers]
2. Ma'āsirul Mulūk [Deeds of Kings]
3. Makārim i Akhlāq [High Morals]
4. Muntakhab i Tārīkh i Wassāf [Selections from the History of Wassāf]
5. Akhbārul Akhyār [News of the Pious]
6. Khūlāsatul Akhbār [Summary of Events][2]
7. Qānūn i Humāyūni.[3] [Laws of Humāyūn].

The last which is a versified history of Humāyūn's administration was composed in India between 927 A.H. and 935 A.H., when the author was living under that emperor. He came to India in 934 A.H. and was favourably received by Bābur. After the latter's death he attached himself to the emperor Humāyūn.

He was the son of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī. Having rebelled against the lawful authority of his brother, Shāh Tahmāsp, was thrown into prison, and subsequently put to death in 984 A.H He is the author of a biographical work entitled Tuhfa i Sāmī which was completed in 968 A.H.[4] It is divided into the following Sahīfās or sections) :

Sām Mīrzā

1 Shāh Ismā'īl and contemporary rulers
2. Sayyids and the learned.

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1 Ibid., p. 4.

2 Habībus-Siyar, p. 4, Bombay edition, 1852.

3 Elliot, History of India, Vol. IV, p 143, London, 1872.

[*Note.* - This work is mentioned by Abul Fazl as Humāyūn Nāma.]

4 Tuhfa i Sāmī, fol. 213a. Or. 648, U. L. C,

8. Other respectable men who though not poets, did occasionally write poetry.
4. Vazīrs and authors.
5. First-rate poets and learned men.
6. Poets of Turkish race.
7. Other common writers.

The work is rare and in subject-matter similar to Daulat Shāh's Tazkiratush Shu'rā. It gives almost all the contemporary poets cited by Bābur in his autobiography. He also possessed a fine poetic taste. A beautiful verse of his, which vies in elegance with that of any of the best poets of Persian language is quoted from his compositions as follows :

[1] حاصل عمر نثار ره یاري کردم
شادم از زندگي خويش که کاري کردم

The product of my life I sacrificed at the path of a beloved,
I am glad of my life that I performed a deed.

Mirza Barkhurdār Turkmān.

He is the author of a rare work "Ahsanut Tawārikh," also called 'Ahsanus Siyar.'

> "The only copy known to me is the imperfect one in the library of Sāhib Zāda 'Abdus Samad Khān of Rāmpūr, which recounts in great detail the relations between Bābur and Shāh Ismā'il, to whom the book was dedicated. The book is noteworthy because the author is a Shi'a who wrote with the professed object of correcting

[1] Tuhfai Sāmī, Or. 648, fol. 211a, U.L.C

Habībus-Siyar. The book was finished in 937 A.H.[1]

"His odes are tasty but better flavoured than correct. There is a Turkī verse of his also, not badly written. He went to Shaibak Khān later on and found complete favour . . ."[2]

Mirzā Muhammad Salih.

He is the author of a versified history of Bābur's great antagonist Shaibānī Khān entitled "Shaibānī Nāma." It is in Turkī language and is therefore out of present consideration. Bābur's opinion about it is that "It is feeble and flat."[3]

Daulat Shāh bin-i-'Alāud-daulah Bakhtishāh Samarqandī is the author of a well-known biographical work entitled "Tazkiratush Shu'arā" (or the lives of poets. It is dedicated like Mīrkhwand's Rauzatus Safā to Mīr 'Ali Shīr Nawā'ī. He had also good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Turkī. Like his patron he was a Turk but unlike him he decided in favour of the more polished Persian, to be the literary medium, and left his principal work in that and not in Turkī. Besides him there were many other poets of Turkish descent like Maulānā Āhī, Tufailī[4] Wafāī,[5] etc., who composed chiefly in Persian, and are famous as Persian poets.[7] 'The Turkī dialect with a very few exceptions like Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī and Bābur, had not attained the recognition of the cultured classes as a literary medium. This is why Daulat Shāh wrote in

Daulat Shāh Samarqandī

1 Rushbrook-Williams, An Empire-builder of the 16th Century, Preface, p. viii.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 289.

3 Ibid.

4 Sām Mīrzā Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, Or. 648 fol. 195a., U.L.C.

5 Ibid., fol. 196 a.

6 Ibid., fol. 200a.

7 Ibid.; also, Bābur's Memoirs, pp. 290, 278, and 88.

Persian. The work is at places inaccurate in dates which shows that the author relied more on hearsay evidence and did not revise or collate it with other existing historical material. But for this slight carelessness, the work is admirable in its notices of Persian poets from the beginning to the author's time. The poetical extracts produced from their works as specimens of their composition throw much light on the refined poetic taste of the author himself Incidentally the work furnishes a historical record of the sovereigns in whose reigns the poets flourished. The work was completed in 892 A.H.,[1] eight years before the death of the author. A good text was published under the editorship of Prof. Browne in 1901.

Gulbadan Begum.

Daughter of Bābur, born in 929 A.H., and died at the advanced age of 82, in 1011 A.H. She wrote down certain events of Bābur and Humāyūn in a work entitled "Humāyūn Nāma," at the request of Akbar. At her father's death which took place in 937 A.H., she was only eight years old, and consequently did not make much attempt to write about him. It is not a history in its proper sense but a record of domestic events of the royal houses, and hence of unique value as a supplement to other existing contemporary histories of the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn.[2]

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1 Dawlat Shāh, Tadkiratush Shu'rā, title-page Edited by Prof. Browne, London, 1901.

2 The Manuscript which had long been given up for lost was unearthed by the industry and zeal of Mrs Beveridge who also fully translated it into English, and added useful notes and appendices. It is a happy recollection that the work of a woman in the East was discovered and edited by a woman in the West It was printed and published for the first time in 1902 under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society

Shaykhul Islām Saifuddīn Ahmad was of the line of that Mullā Sa'duddīn (Mas'ūd) Taftāzānī whose descendants from his time downwards have given the Shaykhul Islām to Khurāsān. He was a very learned man admirably versed in the Arabian sciences and the traditions, most God-fearing and orthodox. Himself a Shāfi'ī,[1] he was tolerant of all the sects. People say he never once in 70 years omitted the congregational prayer. He was martyred when Shāh Isma'īl took Herī (916 A.H.); there now remains no man of his honoured line."[2]

Mullā Saif-uddīn Ahmad Taftāzānī

He is styled by Sām Mīrzā as second Aristotle and Plato of Greece.[3] He was undoubtedly one of the greatest philosophers of the age and wrote several standard works some of which are the following:

Jalāluddīn. Dawwānī.

1. Akhlāq-i-Jalālī [The Ethics of Jalāluddīn]. Its basis is a much earlier work known as Kitābut Tahārat written in Arabic language by Abū 'Alī-bin-i-Muhammad ibn-i-Miskvaih. It was first translated into Persian by Nasīruddīn Tūsī at the request of the governor of Kūhistān : Nāsiruddīn Muhtashim : after whose name it was subsequently called. Two and a half centuries later Jalāluddīn Dawwānī prepared a new edition with the help of these two predecessor works under the title "Akhlāq-i-Jalālī."

His other works are summed up as follows :

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1 This is one of the four principal schools of thought in Islām known as (i) Hanafi ; (ii) Hunbalī ; (iii) Mālikī ; and (iv) Shāfi'ī.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 283

3 Tuhfa i Sāmī, fol. 52a, ut supra.

2. Sharh-i-Haikal.
3. Isbāt-i-Wājib [On the Existence of God].
4. Risāla-i-Zaurā [On Sūfīsm].
5. Hāshiya-i-Shamsiya.
6. Sharh-i-' Aqā'id.
7. Marginal notes on Sharh-i-Tajrīd.

He died according to Hājī Khalfa in 908 A.H.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwāliarī.

"Shaykh Muhammad Ghaus, a darwish-like man, (was) not only very learned but (had) a large following of students and disciples"[1] He was a descendant of the famous saint Shaikh Bā Yazīd of Bistām, and a regular disciple of two great Sūfīs Shaikh Zuhūr and Hājī Hamīduddīn. In his youth he spent 12 years of his life in asceticism in the jungle lying at the foot of the Chunar hills, and was ever afterwards held in great veneration by the people of Hindūstān. During the disturbances that arose through the invasions of Shīr Shāh he repaired to Gujarāt where the most distinguished scholar of the age Shaikh Wajīhuddīn entered into his discipleship. Badāūnī having seen him once at Āgra describes the event as follows:

[2] فقیر اورا در سنه ۹۶۶ھ روزي در بازار آگره از دور دیدم که سواره میگذشت و ازدهام عام برگرد و پیش او چنانکه مجال عبور احدي دران جمعیت نبود و از بسیاري تواضع در جواب سلام خلائق از یمین و یسار سر او یك لحظه آرام وقرار نداشت ..... چون صحبت او بخانخانان بیرمخان و شیخ گدائي راست

[1] Memoirs of Babur, p. 539.

[2] Badāunī, Vol III, p. 5.

نیامده رنجیده بگوالیار رفت و بتکمیل مریدان مشغول شد و خانقاهی تعمیر فرموده ... خود دران وادی تصنیف میکرد -

> I saw him one day from at a distance when he was riding in the market of Āgra in the year 966 A.H., and dense crowds of people surrounded him so that none could dare find his way through that congregation. And on account of great courtesy in answer to salutations of the public from right and left, his head never took rest for a moment. Since his association with the Khān-i-Khānān : Bairam Khān, and Shaikh Gadā'ī, was not agreeable to him, he went aggrieved to Gwaliār and busied himself there in completing the course of his instructions to his disciples ; and having built a monastery there, himself wrote books in that valley.

Bābur had such a respect for him that he pardoned the excesses of one of his staunch enemies merely because the Shaikh had interceded for him :

> "On Wednesday Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus came in from Gwaliār to plead for Rahīm Dād. As Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was a pious and excellent person Rahīm Dād's faults were forgiven for his sake."[1]

Of the many works ascribed to him by Badāūnī only one is mentioned by name, *viz.*, : 'Risāla-i-Ghausiya,' which is at the same time condemned by him and all true believers as rank heresy. Its publication was one of the

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[1] Memoirs of Bābur, p 690

causes of the indifference shown to him by Bairm Khān. His other works are: 'Jawāhir-ul-Khamsa' and 'Gulzār-ul-Abrār.' The latter is a most important work on Sūfīsm, and deals exclusively with the Sūfīs of India and their practices, teachings, and utterances. The dates on which they expired and the places where they were buried are also carefully mentioned. One of his disciples who remained all his life in his service and attended him in his travels, wrote a work entitled "Manāqib-i-Ghausiya" giving a brief sketch of the Shaikh's life and teachings. It is a record of mysterious events and prophesies from a disciple's point of view, and should be read with caution. He died at Āgra at the age of 80 in 970 A.H., and was buried at Gwalior. The date of this incident was found by one of his learned disciples Mullā Isma'īl 'Atā'ī in the pharse:

بندۂ خدا شد [1]

A creature (or a slave) of God departed

Badāūnī tells us that owing to Shaikh's erudition he himself once seriously thought of becoming his pupil and of reading with him certain books, but simply for the fact that the latter rose in respect for the infidels, he abstained and "remained destitute of that boon"[2]

Still he seems to have been much impressed by the Shaikh's spirituality and says that when he first saw him at Āgra, he noticed a strange sort of freshness and gleam in the face of the saint in spite of his old age.[3] It is significant that Bābur's grandson Akbar, during the

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. II. p 63.
2 Ibid. p. 64.
3 Ibid.

Shaikh's visit to Āgra in 966 A.H., had entered into his discipleship, and this was probably the reason for the latter's arrival and stay in the town. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad tells us that Akbar was so very favourably disposed towards the Shaikh that he sanctioned a permanent grant of one crore as Shaikh's personal allowance for life.[1]

Shaikh Zain-uddīn.

He was an accomplished scholar of Turkī, Arabic, and Persian, who filled the high office of "صدر" (State Secretary) in the service of Bābur in India. The latter had a very high opinion of his scholarship and formidable pen. On the occasion when Shaikh Zain wrote the 'farmān' announcing Bābur's renunciation of wine, the latter remarked thus:

> "Shaykh Zayn wrote down the 'farmān' with his own elegance, and his fine letter was sent to all my dominions."[2]

At another occasion when he wrote 'fath Nāma,' or the letter of victory over the formidable Rājpūt army of Rānā Sangā, Bābur paid it a high tribute of praise and reproduced it in his Memoirs as a perfect document.[3]

Badāūnī says that he was one of the greatest scholars of the age and was the first to translate into Persian the Turkī Memoirs of Bābur. He also wrote a commentary on 'Mubayyan' a treatise written by Bābur on Hanafī jurisprudence.

He was known in India as Zainuddīn Khwāfī. His position as a poet is as great as that of a scholar. He wrote poetry under the pen-name 'Wafā'ī.' Two of his quatrains which represent Indian taste in poetic grace are quoted below:

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1 Tabaqāt i Akbarī p. 393.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 553.

3 Ibid, p. 559.

[1] آرمیدی برقیباں و رمیدی از ما
ماچه کردیم و چه دیدی چه شنیدی از ما
بهر دل بردن ما حاجت بیداد نبود
می‌سپردیم اگر می‌طلبیدی از ما

Thou didst rest with the rivals, and fled from us,
What have we done? and what didst thou see and hear from us?
To carry off our heart, no need was there for this cruelty,
We would have surrendered it to thee, hadst thou asked it of us.

The other which cannot with any hope of success be translated is as follows:

[2] غم گریباں گیر شد سر در گریباں چوں کشم
شوق دامنگیر آمد پا بداماں چوں کشم
اے گریبانم ز شوقت پارهٔ دامن چاك چاك
بے تو پا در دامن و سر در گریباں چوں کشم

Of all the works that he wrote the most important is the history of the conquest of Hindūstān by Bābur, which is referred to by Badāūnī as an exquisite and faithful exposition of current events in India at that time. He died at Chunār in 940 A.H., three years after the death of Bābur, and was buried there within the precincts of the college of which he was the founder.

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 341.
[2] Ibid, p. 472.

"He was called the born Mullā, because in A[illegible] Bēg's time he used to give lessons when 14 years old. He was very learned, the most so of his time. People say he was nearing the rank of Ijtihād,[1] but he did not reach it. It is said of him that he once asked: 'How should a person forget a thing heard?' A strong memory he must have had.'"[2]

Mullā Zāda Mullā 'Usmān.

Husain bin i 'Alī al Wā'iz surnamed Kāshifī was a great theologian in the time of Sultān Husain Mīrzā. He was well-versed in Muslim Jurisprudence and held in high esteem by the people of Herāt. He was a man of versatile talents and left good many works on different subjects such as Ethics, Moral Philosophy, Muslim History and Jurisprudence.

Mullā Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī.

Some of his best known works are the following :

1. Tafsīr i Husainī—which he named Mawāhib i Auliyā—is a commentary on the Qur'ān undertaken at the desire of Mīr ' Alī Shīr Nawā'ī.'
2. Akhlāq i Muhsinī—a work on moral philosophy. It has been a popular text-book in almost all the Oriental madrasahs in Upper India. It was finished in 900 A.H., and dedicated the same year to Sultān Husain Mīrzā.
3. Rauzatush Shuhadā [or the Gardens of the Martyrs] is a historical work dealing with the life of the Prophet, and the battle of Karbela. It was finished in 906 A.H., and was similarly dedicated to Sultān Husain Mīrzā.
4. Lubbul Lubāb—It is an abstract of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī's Masnawī.
5. Anwār i Suhailī (or the Lights of the Canopus) is a most popular work on morals. Like Akhlāq-

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[1] *Vide* F. N. 2, p. 150, Supra.

[2] Memoirs of Babur, p. 284.

i Muhsinī, it was a prescribed text-book for the maktabs, and after their extinction has since continued to be used in English schools and colleges in almost all the Universities of India. Its basis is a Sanskrit story of Kalīlah and Damnah. The already existing Persian version of his predecessor (Maulānā Nasrullāh) not being a good one, the author was asked by an Amīr of the Sultān's court named Nizāmuddīn Shaikh Ahmad Suhailī to rewrite it in his elegant and masterly style after whose name the book is called. It enjoyed in India, when maktabs were in vogue, a popularity like Sa'dī's Gulistān and was held in high esteem. Its style in putting speeches in the mouths of animals, does not seem to accord with the modern European taste, nor does its ornate diction interspersed with verses. But the same, specially the latter, which is essentially Persian, was considered as a merit of writing in those days everywhere in Persia, Herāt, Turkistān, and Samarqand, and cannot on that score be condemned. The book represents the 'floridity' of Persian literature of this and the later periods, and teaches moral lessons in the form of short didactic stories which suit the taste and imagination of the younger generation for whom it was primarily intended. A similar preceding work in Arabic language is to be found in the admirable series of the "Ikhwānus Safā"[1]

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[1] A society of learned men founded at Baghdād in about the middle of the tenth century A.D., for the promotion of learning and sciences. They wrote and published many treatises on different subjects of which the above was one.

wherein the beasts, the birds, the insects, and the fish, had each their say with typical floridity and yet the book is considered as finest in Arabic literature.

6. Makhzanul Inshā—A work on epistolography. As mentioned in the Preface it was written for Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī in the year 907 A.H.
7. Sab-'i-Kāshifiyyah—It is a work on astrology, and deals with the influence of stars and other celestial bodies.
8. Sahīfa i Shāhī—It is in subject-matter similar to Makhzanul Inshā, and deals with Persian and Arabic forms of letters.

There are some other works also like :

9. Matla'ul Anwār.
10. Latā i fut Tawā'īf.
11. Asrār i Qāsimī, etc.,

which do not rank in popularity with the above. Khwandamīr calls him Kamāluddīn Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, and says that he was a preacher of great fame in Herāt, and used to deliver his lectures, which were mostly on ethics and moral philosophy, in the Imperial college and other buildings in the town.[1] He died in 910 A.H., and was ever afterwards known as Wā'iz meaning ' a preacher.'

Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī

His real name was 'Abdullāh, but he was commonly called as Khwāja Maulānā Qāzī.

" On his father's death his line went back to Shaikh Burhānuddīn 'Alī Qilich. The family had

[1] Habībus-Siyar, Vol. III, Pt. 3, p. 341, Bombay, 1273, A.H.

come to be the Religious Guides and Pontiff and Judge of the Farghāna country. He was a disciple of His Highness 'Ubaidullāh (Ahrārī) and from him had his up-bringing."[1]

Mīr Murtāz.

" He was well-versed in the sciences of philosophy and metaphysics ; he was called 'Murtāz' (ascetic), because he fasted a great deal."[2]

Mīr Muhammad Yusūf

" He was the pupil of the Shaikhul Islām and afterwards was advanced to his place. In some assemblies he, in others, Qāzī Ikhtiyār took the high place."[3]

Qāzī Ikhtiyār

" He was an excellent Qāzī, and wrote a treatise in Persian on Jurisprudence, an admirable treatise ; he also, in order to give elucidation, made a collection of homonymous verses from the Qur'ān. Talk turning on the Bāburī script, he asked me about it, ... I wrote it out . . . he went through it letter by letter, and having learned its plan, wrote something in it then and there."[4]

Mīr 'Ataullāh Mashhadī

"He knew the Arabian sciences well, and also wrote a Persian treatise on rhyme. The treatise is well done, but it has the defect that he brings into it, as his examples, couplets of his own, and assuming them to be correct, prefixes to each. He wrote another on the curiosities of verse,

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p 89

2 Ibid, p. 284

3 Ibid, p. 285.

4 Ibid.

entitled 'Badā-i'us Sanāi'—a very well-written treatise.'"[1]

"Disciple and pupil both of Mawlānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī, he had read aloud most of the Mullā's poems in his presence, and wrote a plain exposition of the Nafhāt. He had good acquaintance with exoteric sciences, and in the esoteric ones also was very successful."[2]

Mullā 'Abdul Ghafūr Lārī

His best known work is the commentary on Jāmī's Nafhātul 'Uns, which he undertook for the benefit of Jāmī's son Ziyā'uddīn Yūsuf who used to meet with difficulties in understanding the text. He died in 912 A.H., in Herāt,[3] and was buried by the side of his master whose eminent pupil he was. The following verse in his praise with its authorship assigned to Jāmī, has been noticed on the fly-leaf of a manuscript copy of the commentary of Nafhāt :

[4]جای که فصل و دانش مرغے بود شکاری
بازیست تیزپرواز عبد الغفور لاری

At a place where learning and wisdom is a bird of prey,
'Abdul Ghafūr Lārī is a swift-flying hawk.

Mīr Jamāl-uddīn Muhad-dis

"Mīr Jamāluddīn the Traditionalist .... had no equal in Khurāsān for knowledge of the Muhammadan Traditions."[5]

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1 *Memoirs of Bābur*, p 285.

2 Ibid, p 284

3 *Note*: Beale mistaking Lārī for Lāhorī fixes the town Lāhore as his native place [Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 4.]

4 B.M. MSS. or. 218, fol. 13a

5 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 284.

"Being well-versed in the sciences of philosophy, logic, and rhetoric, he was able to find much meaning in a few words, and to bring it out opportunely in conversation. There was no better Muhtasib." [1]

Maulānā Shaikh Husain

He was learned in Traditions and Theology, and was one of the readers of the Khutba in the name of Bābur at the mosque in Delhī on Friday, Rajab 15th, 932 A.H. His other partner was Shaikh Zainuddīn. [2]

Maulānā Mahmūd.

Of calligraphers, besides Bayānī,—the poet—already noticed, there was one Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī who is mentioned by Bābur as the most eminent of all:

Sultān 'Alī Mashhadī.

> "Of fine pen-pen there were many; the one standing out in 'nasta'līq' was Sultān 'Alī of Mashhad, who copied many books for the Mīrzā, and for 'Alī Shīr Bēg." [3]

These two are described as the best painters of the age. Of Bihzād, Bābur remarks that his work was very dainty, but he did not draw beardless faces well and used greatly to lengthen the chin. He was very skilful at drawing bearded faces. [4] "Shāh Muzaffar was very neat in his work and drew dainty pictures, representing the hair very daintily. He died when on his way to fame." [5]

Bihzād and Muzaffar.

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[1] Ibid, p. 283.
[2] Ibid, p. 471.
[3] Ibid, 291.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

These three, besides Bayānī, who is already noticed under poets, were famous musicians and instrumentalists. Shaikhī Nāyī played the *Nay* (or the lute) skilfully and hence called by that name :

Shaikhī Nāyī, Qul Muhammad, Shah Qulī.

"He once produced a wonderful air on the flute, Qul Muhammad could not reproduce it on the guitar, so declared it a worthless instrument ; Shaykhī Nāyī at once took the guitar from Qul Muhammad's hands and played the air on it well and in perfect tune. They say he was so perfect in music that having once heard an air, he was able to say 'This or that is the tune of so and so's, or so and so's flute.' "[1]

"Shāh Qulī was the guitar player. He was of 'Irāq, came to Khurāsān, practised playing, and succeeded. He composed many airs, preludes, and works." [2]

Besides the above poets and scholars noticed by Bābur as his contemporaries, there were in India many, of whom only a prominent few are incidentally mentioned by Farishta as follows :

[3] نقل است که زناردارے بودهن نام در موضع
کایتهن سکونت داشت روزي در حضور مسلمانان اقرار
کرد که اسلام حق است و دین من نیز درست است
این سخن ازو شایع شده بگوش علما رسید قاضي
پیاده و شیخ بدر که در لکهنوتي بودند نقیض یکدیگر

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Farishta, pp. 335 and 336.

فتوی می‌دادند اعظم همایون بن خواجه بایزید
حاکم آن ولایت زناردار را مع قاضی و شیخ مذکور
بخدمت پادشاه بسنبهل فرستاد و چون پادشاه را
باستماع مذاکره علمی رغبتے تمام بود علماے نامی
را از اطراف طلبیده مجلس بحث ترتیب داد و تفصیل
اسامی آنها اینست که میان قادر بن شیخ خواجو و
میان عبدالله بن الهداد از طلنبه و سید محمد بن
سعید خان از دهلی و ملا قطب الدین و ملا الهداد
صالح از سرهند و سید امان و سید برهان و سید احسن
از قنوج آمدند و جمعی از امرا که همیشه همراه پادشاه
می‌بودند مثل صدرالدین قنوجی و میان عبدالرحمن
ساکن سیکری و میان عزیزالله سنبهلی ایشان
نیز دران معرکه حاضر شدند -

It is related that a cord-wearer (*i.e.*, Brahman) Yūdhan by name lived in the village Kāyathan. One day he professed in the presence of the Muslims that Islām is right, and that his religion too, is right. This speech of his reached the ears of the 'Ulamā. Qāzī Piyārah and Shaikh Badr who were in Lakhnautī passed judgments contradicting each other. A'zam Humāyūn, son of Khwāja Bā Yazīd—the ruler of that province—sent the cord-wearer together with the Qāzī and the said Shaikh before the king at Sambhal. And since the king was greatly disposed to hearing the literary discussions, he sent for the renowned scholars from the neighbouring sides, and arranged a meeting for the debate. Details of their names are given below :

1. Miyān Qādir bin-i-Shaikh Khwājū : and

2. Miyān 'Abdullāh bin-i-Ilāh Dād—from Talna.
3. Sayyid Muhammad bin-i-Sai'd Khān—from Delhi.
4. Mullā Qutbuddīn, and
5. Mullā Ilāh Dād Sālih—from Sirhind.
6. Sayyid Amān,
7. Sayyid Burhān, and
8. Sayyid Ahsan—came from Qannauj; and a number from among aristocrat class who always accompanied the king like:
9. Sadruddīn of Qannauj, and
10. Miyān 'Abdur Rahmān of Sīkrī, and
11. Miyān 'Azizullāh of Sambhal, also appeared in that debate.

Others whose names appear elsewhere are as follows:

12. Qāzī 'Abdul Wāhid Shaikh Tāhir of Thanesar, and
13. Shaikh Ibrāhīm, were the king's Privy-councillors.
14. Mullā Chaman—was the King's Chamberlain, and Chief Privy-Councillor.
15 Shaikh Baha'uddīn of Delhi—was one of the greatest saints and scholars of the time. Sikandar Lodī had read with him the Elementary Arabic Grammar known as 'Mīzān'

It may be noted in this connection that the words:

بدان اسعدك الله تعالى في الدارين

Know thou: God bless thee most in both the worlds.

which have ever since mysteriously appeared at the beginning of every manuscript and

printed edition of this treatise, originated from that learned saint who had repeated them thrice before making Sikandar Lodī read the text.

16. Miyān Bhūrā—He was a theologian, and Sultān's Minister of Justice.

17. Shaikh Jamālī Kambōh of Delhī—was the famous scholar and poet of Sikandar's court. Badāūnī tells us that Sultān Sikandar Lodī used to show him his verses for correction and improvement. He was one of the best pupils of Jāmī and had received the latter's recognition during his discipleship at Herāt. The following says Badāūnī are from one of his most elegant lyric poems which are very popular and widely sung in India :

[1] طال شوقی الی منازلکم
ایها الغائبون عن نظري
روز و شب مونسم خیال شماست
فاسئلوا عن خیالکم خبري

My fond desire towards the stages of your halt increased,
O, vanishers from my sight !
Day and night my boon companion is your thought
Ask then of your thoughts my news.

His verses on love are of a pure delicate beauty. Some are quoted from Farishta as follows :

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p 325.

[1] مارا ز خاک کویت پیراهنست بر تن
آنهم ز آب دیده صد چاک تا بدامن

From the dust of his street is the dress on my body,
That too has hundred rents up to the skirt owing to the tears of my eye.

[2] مرا از تیرهاے او پر از پر گشت هر پهلو
کنون پرواز خواهم کرد سوئے آن کمان ابرو

Every side of my body became full of feathers on account of his arrows,
Now I will fly to that whose eye-brow is shaped like a bow.

Being an illustrious pupil of Jāmī and a regular disciple of Shaikh Sāmsuddīn Kambōh of Delhī, he had a Sūfīstic turn of mind and wrote a treatise on Sūfīsm 'Siyarul 'Ārifīn' (or the lives of saints). It deals with the Sūfīs of India beginning with Khwāja Mu'īnuddīn Chistī of Ajmēr,[3] and ending with his own spiritual teacher Shaikh Shamsuddīn of Delhi. Besides this, he is said to be the author of other prose-works which are, unfortunately, not mentioned by name. He was the best poet of Persian of Sikandar's court, and was known among people as "second Khusrau." The year of his death was found in the ingenious phrase : [4]خسرو هند بوده

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[1] Farishta, p. 346.

[2] Ibid.

[3] He is regarded as the head of the Sūfī-band and is revered as the arch-saint of India. Among the Mughal emperors, Akbar was the most devoted adherent, and had travelled thrice from Āgra to Ajmer on foot to pay his homage to the saint.

[4] Bādaunī, Vol. I, p. 347.

(He was the Khusrau of India.)

18. Shaikh Rājūrī Bukhārī.—He was a leading scholar and saint of considerable influence over the king and the people. Once a war between Sultān Ibrahīm and his opponents was averted merely through his intervention.

(2) Shaikh 'Abdullāh of Talna—His name has been already mentioned by Farishta in connection with the literary debate arranged by Sultān Sikandar Lodī. He ranks very high among the learned men of India. He came from Multān and took his residence at Delhī where he lectured to hundreds of students who gathered to attend from all parts of India. He was the foremost logician of his day and was the first to bring and spread a systematic knowledge of logic in Upper Hindūstān. It is said that over forty distinguished scholars like Miyān Lādan and Jamāl Khān of Delhī, Miyān Shaikh of Gwalior, and Mīrān Sayyid Jalāl of Badāūn were attending his lectures. Even the Sultān himself used to come and sit silently in a corner :

[1] و میگویند که سلطان سکندر در وقت درس
شیخ عبدالله مذکور می‌آمد و بتقریب اینکه
مبادا خلل در سبق طلبه افتد پنهان در گوشهٔ
مجلس آهسته می‌نشست و بعد از فراغ درس
سلام علیکم گفته با یکدیگر صحبت میداشتند -

And they say that Sultān Sikandar used to come at the time of the above-mentioned Shaikh

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1 Ibid, p. 324.

'Abdullāh's lecturing, and fearing lest some disturbance be caused to the lessons of the alumni, sit silently hidden in a corner of the assembly, and after the lecture was finished, having said 'Good morning' they used to associate with one another.

He died in 922 A H., and the date was found in a verse from the Qur'ān :

أولئك لهم درجات العلى

(It is they for whom there are high ranks.)

(11) Shaikh 'Azīzullāh of Sambhal.—He also came from Multān with Shaikh 'Abdullāh, and took an equal part in the promulgation of the knowledge of higher logic among the alumni in Upper Hindūstān. He took residence at Sambhal, and is said to possess a most wonderful memory ever heard of. He combined secular knowledge with spiritual and could teach any standard Arabic or Persian work without any preparation to any advanced students however prepared they might come.

[1] وبارها بامتحان پیش آمده اسوله لاینحل می آوردند شیخ مشارالیه در وقت افاده معاً حل ساخته

And this was tried many a time. They brought unanswerable questions. The Shaikh in the course of lecturing readily solved them all.

19. Shaikh Ilāh Diya of Jaunpūr.—He was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian and deeply

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[1] Ibid.

learned in grammar and Muslim Jurisprudence. He is the author of several standard works and ranks with the leading scholars of the day. He wrote a commentary on Hidāyah in several volumes, and a commentary on Kāfiyah, which contributed greatly to his fame. He also wrote some very useful marginal notes on Tafsīr i Madārik and other books which are taught in Arabic institutions even to this day. It is noteworthy that all such distinguished men were patronised by Sikandar Lodī who himself was a lover of learning and took real delight in their debates which he was ever keen to organise and attend :

[1] و سلطان سکندر علماے دیار خویش را جمع کرده
بیك جانب شیخ عبدالله و شیخ عزیزالله و جانب
دیگر شیخ الهدیه و پسرش بهکاری را در بحث معارض
ساخت ٬ آخر چنان معلوم شد که آن دو بزرگوار
در تقریر و این دو عزیز در تحریر فائق اند -

And Sultān Sikandar having convened the learned men of his country—with Shaikh 'Abdullāh and Shaikh 'Azīzullāh on one side, and, Shaikh Ilāh Diyah and his son Bhikārī on the other, made them discuss in a debate At last this was found out that those two great men in speaking and these two in writing stood unrivalled.

20. Mahmūd bin i Shaikh Ziyāuddīn Muhammad, an accomplished scholar and poet, is the author of the famous Persian lexicon 'Farhang i Iskandarī,' which he called after the name of his master

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1 Ibid, pp. 324-25.

Sultān Sikandar. It is divided into 22 chapters and each chapter into two 'fasls' of which the first treatsof simple words and the second of compound. It is an uncommon but at the same time a useful arrangement which reflects on the vast learning of the writer. The work is valuable and has been utilised by later lexicographers. It was completed in 916 A H. The author states in the preface that he wrote also all kinds of poetry including *qasīda, masnawī,* and *ghazal.*

21. Khwāja Shaikh Sa'īduddīn.--We learn about him from the above work in which he is praised by the author for his extraordinary talents and literary patronage. It was mostly due to his help and encouragement that the author brought that work to a finish. It transpires that the work was formally dedicated to Khwāja Sā'īduddīn since the name given to it by the author is not 'Farhang i Iskandarī' but 'Tuhfa tus Sa'ādat (which has a bearing on Sā'īd). His praises were sung by the author in his poetry also.
22. Shaikh Muhammad ibn i Lād of Delhī, a man of versatile knowledge and well-read in Arabic, Persian, and Turkī. His best known work is Muayyidul Fuzalā which in its subject-matter is similar to the above with the exception that it contains three divisions of words :

    (i) (Arabic) ; (ii) (Persian); (iii) Turkī.

    It was completed in 925 A.H.
23. Kabīr—A Hindī poet briefly noticed on p. 70 in connection with the growth of 'Urdū language. He was the son of a Muhammadan weaver of Benares, and a disciple of Rāmānand, and Shaikh

Taqī.[1] From his very boyhood he evinced a taste for Sufīsm andwas fond of the society of spiritual men who could be approached in Benares. Of these one prominent personality was of Rāmānanda, a Hindū ascetic, who taught Vedanta philosophy in a modified and more acceptable form. The boy Kabīr remained under his discipleship for some time and derived benefit from his teachings. After some time feeling dissatisfied with the asceticism taught and practised by the Hindū devotees subjecting themselves to austere bodily mortifications and cutting off their relations from the world, he sought a life compromising with temporal, and found it in the teachings of the Muslim saint, Pīr Taqī, who according to Islamic law forbade the exclusive pursuit of the contemplative life. Kabīr thus remained at the spinning wheel, married a wife, and sang of divine love sometimes going astray and lost in his visions of Truth like 'Attār, Hāfiz, Sarmad, and other thinkers of the East. Some of his thoughts by way of sample are reproduced below :—

I

O servant, whither art thou going after Me ?
I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque,
Nor in Ka'ba, nor in Kalīsa,
Nor in rites and ceremonies,
Nor in journeys and retirement ;

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1 A Sufi who had his abode on a hill in the outskirts of Jhānsī in Central India. Also known by the popular names of Bāba Taqī and Taqī Pādishāh.

If thy desire is real, thou shalt see,
And meet Me in no time ;
Kabir says, O Sadhu ! God is the essence of all breath.

II

Do not go to the garden,
O brother go not there,
In thy *self* is the garden,
Take thy seat on the petals
of the lotus, and then behold,
The Eternal beauty.

III

The moon shines in me,
But my closed eye cannot see it,
The sun and the moon are within me,
The drum of Eternal beauty is sounding loud,
But I am deaf and cannot hear it ;
So long as man talks of his *self*,
His mission remains unfulfilled,
When all love for *self* departs,
The object of his creation is fulfilled.

IV

Underneath the canopy of my Lord,
Millions of suns and moons
And stars shine bright,
His heart is within my heart,
His eye is within my eye,
Oh, could my heart and eye be one,
And my heart's heat be cooled,
Kabir says, " When thy love is united with the lover,
Then the height of love is achieved."

V

None but a sane man will hear,
The melody which arises in the sky,
He who is the source of all melody,
Fills all vessels with music,
And sits in fullness Himself.

VI

This day is precious above all others,
For today the beloved is in me as my guest,
My chamber and my courtyard are luminous,
with His presence.

VII

Clouds thicken in the sky,
O, listen to their roarings,
The rain comes from the East,
With its thundrous roar,
Take care of the fences and the fields,
Lest the rain make a flood over there.

VIII

I have learned Sanskrit,
Let all men call me learned,
But of what avail is this,
If I roam aimlessly, thirsty,
And parched with the heat of passion,
What for you have put on your head
This burden of vain glory ?
Kabîr says: " Throw it down,
And rush to meet the beloved,
Address Him as your Lord."

IX

The mistress who has parted from her lover,
Sits at the spinning wheel ;
The fortress of her body is strong and beautiful,
The castle of her heart is built high.
She weaves the thread of love,
And makes it look fine,
Kabīr says: " I make the garland of day and night,
The lover when he comes,
And kindly touches me with *his* feet,
I shall present *him* the garland of tears."

In the above lines one can see with the curious blending of Sūfīsm with Yōgīsm, the enormous influence exercised by the former on the practical life of a Yōgī. Equally so, it is a departure from the conventional Sūfīsm which in India was subject to gradual degeneration since its very inception by coming in contact with the ritual performances of asceticism. It was thus a reform which came at the opportune moment when the purity of Persian mysticism here was succumbing to the influence of Hindū Yōga, and imbibing the spirit of their ritual. The essence of his teachings is in the ennobling of Soul independent of bodily austerities which he condemns in the pale of spiritualism as irrational. Being a first disciple of the great Hindū teacher Rāmānanda he was intimately aware of the evils attending on the Hindū system of religious worship which he aimed to reform by a touch of Sūfīsm. He wished to see the door of spiritual teachings open to all, and not to the privileged class of Brahmans alone. This may be viewed in the broad lesson of the love of Nature which he took to heart and was an ardent teacher thereof. His poetry being in the spoken dialect of the common folk and not in the

high classical Persian came as a direct appeal to the hearts of people who thronged round him and believed in his mysterious powers:

> "Once after the performance of a supposed miracle of healing, he was brought before the emperor Sikandar Lōdī, and charged with claiming the possession of divine powers. But Sikandar Lōdī—a ruler of considerable culture—was tolerant of the eccentricities of saintly persons belonging to his own faith. Kabīr being of Muhammadan birth was outside the authority of the Brahmans, and technically classed with Sūfīs to whom great theological latitude was allowed. Therefore though he was banished in the interest of peace from Benāres his life was spared." [1]

At his death occurred almost the same as happened according to popular legend on the passing away of Hāfiz.[2] Hindūs and Muslims quarrelled with each other,—the former desired to burn his body while the latter to bury it. Kabīr appeared before them smiling and vanished.

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[1] Tagore, Kabīr's Poems, Introduction, p. xvii, London

[2] It is related by popular tradition that on the death of Hāfiz the orthodox Muslims refused to offer prayers over his body and to shoulder it to the Muslim burial-ground due to his poetical vagaries and unorthodox life. It was decided to take an augury from his verses and the following most suggestive verse came out:

قدم دريغ مدار از جنازهٔ حافظ
که گرچه غرق گناهست میرود به بهشت

Withhold not thy step from the bier of Hāfiz,
For although immersed in sin, he will go to Paradise

They lifted the shroud and found a heap of flowers instead, which were equally divided and burnt and buried respectively.

Rāmānanda and his Hindū disciples—while said to believe in theory in the existence of one spiritual God—Rāma—made in practice no departure from idolatry, but remained clung to their old mythological polytheism. Neither there is any ground to suppose that they ever attempted to relax the caste restrictions imposed on religious worship which was conducted exclusively by the Brahmans :

Kabīr as a spiritual reformer and founder of a Hindū-Muslim fraternity.

> "Those who follow Rāmānanda are still strictly orthodox in all caste matters."[1]

It was only Kabīr who was the first among his disciples to break off from his teachings, no doubt under the later influence of Sūfīsm, and preach against the manifold Avatārs, the caste, and the ritual, with the result that it attracted a very large number of followers, both from among the Hindūs and the Muslims, who immortalised him as a religious reformer. This is perhaps the first instance in the history of Persian mysticism in India under the Mughal rule that the Sūfī doctrines found entrance into the hearts of the Hindū ascetics who fraternised with them, got common disciples, and thereby began to respect each other's sentiments and devotional performances :

> "Kabīr was the man through whom the leading ideas were popularised. From his time the

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1 J. N. Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 325. Oxford University Press, 1920.

condemnation of idolatry and polytheism became frequent."[1]

"He does not care whether his words are Hindī, Persian, or barbarous, nor whether his sentences are grammatical or not, so long as they strike home. He was a mystic of great penetration and a poet of considerable power. His best utterances are probably the loftiest work in the Hindī language; and hundreds of his couplets have laid hold of the common heart of Hindūstān."[2]

"Kabīr formed a community, which is known as the 'Kabīrpanth' ('panth' representing the Sūfī-Tarīqat) Since he was altogether opposed to idolatry, he must have made fresh arrangements for the worship of God, but how far he went we do not know. He would be certain to give the Gurū a prominent place in the sect yet he would by no word or act lead men to believe that he or any other teacher was an incarnation of God."[3]

"Although Kabīr denounced Divine incarnation, the books teach that he is an incarnation of the Supreme. Indeed the practice of the sect as a whole is saturated in Hinduism. The sect-mark, the rosary, the mantra, and many other details are conspicuous."[4]

Besides the poets and scholars cited above, Sultān Sikandar Lodī himself was a poet and a great lover of

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1 Ibid., p 284.
2 Ibid., p. 333
3 Ibid., p. 335.
4 Ibid., p. 336.

learning. Since his very accession to the throne he encouraged the diffusion of knowledge among his subjects and patronised literary acquisitions. In all public services he had fixed an educational standard according to which he filled the posts. This rule was observed so strictly that people of all creeds seeking Government service were obliged to make a strenuous effort in that direction in order to compete successfully for the best rank. Farishta has made it quite clear by stating that even the Hindūs, who had never before paid any serious attention to Muslim lore, took to studying Persian for the first time in their history in all earnestness.[1] He had fixed gratuities for the learned men in his kingdom and gave stipends to students. He wrote poetry under the pen-name "*Gulrukhi*"[2] (or rose-faced) and was fond of listening to literary discussions which, as is already seen, he encouraged and himself took part in. He died in 924 A.H., leaving his kingdom to his son Ibrāhīm; but the literary atmosphere which he had created prevailed till the latter's defeat by Bābur at Pānīpat in 932 A.H. The date of this event was found in the ingenious phrase شہید عدل ابراہیم [3](martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) by the Indian writers of Persian language.

Sultān Sikandar Lodī himself as a poet and a lover of learning.

24. Brahman—A Hindū poet of Persian language. This is evidently the first instance of its kind being the most immediate result of Sikandar Lodī's educational measure.

Brahman a Hindū poet of Persian language.

1 *Vide* supra, p. 75.
2 Farishta, Vol. I, p. 346.
3 Badāūnī Vol. I, p. 336.

Badāūnī's remark about him is as follows :—

[1] و یکے از شعرائے عہد سلطان سکندر برھمن بود-
میگویند کہ با وجود کفر کتب علم رسمي را درس میگفت
و این مطلع ازوست :—

دل خون نشدے چشم تو خنجر نشدے گر
رہ گم نشدے زلف تو ابتر نشدے گر.

And one of the poets of Sultān Sikandar's reign was Brahman. It is said that in spite of his *infidelity* he used to give teaching on books of the learning of the time ; and this opening line which he composed in the metre of Mas'ūd Bēg's ode is from him :

The heart would not have turned into blood, had not thy eye become a dagger :
The path would not have been lost, had not thy curly locks flung about in disorder.

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[1] Ibid. p. 323.

CHAPTER VII

Causes of difference in the use of certain words and expressions in India and Persia.

Such a quick and methodical advance made by a Hindū citizen towards acquiring a complete knowledge of classical Persian is a marvellous achievement for *this period, and serves to show how zealously* the Hindūs had set themselves to this task. Certain peculiar words, phrases, construction, and idioms, introduced since into the language and afterwards improved upon by people, were due mostly to this new departure in the history of Persian literature in India. They need a discussion under a separate heading, but a few noteworthy expressions that have been universally adopted by all the great writers of the Mughal period are just for example given below :

A short list of such words and expressions

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
سرکار[1] (Sarkār)	(i) A district; Province or jurisdiction. (ii) Term of respect in address as Mr.; Sir; or Lord: also person or presence. (iii) Government. (iv) Treasury.	Its use is restricted to second and third meaning only.

[1] In the first three senses, by Abul Fazl, Badāūnī, and others : in the fourth sense by Farishta, cf. Vol I, p 336 :

اگر حکم شود که تریاک مجرب که در خطا می باشد و بالفعل ازان
در سرکار موجود است بیاوریم

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
سرکاری[1] (Sarkārī)	(i) Pertaining to Government. (ii) Control or leadership.	In the first sense only.
صاحب[2] (Sāhib)	In peculiar senses.	In the sense of 'master' or 'owner.'
چادر مہر آمیز[3] (chādar mihr āmīz).	A royal tent.	+

[1] In the first sense by all historians: in the second by Farishta—cf. p. 390, Ibid:

بسرکاری شیخ زین الخ

[2] Arabic word meaning 'master' or 'lord.' In India its uses have been very peculiar. The following are noteworthy :—

(*a*) As a form of address--it has ever been applied to Europeans, and still goes as a synonym for their name.

(*b*) Used by the Sikhs in the Punjab to denote something holy, *e.g.*, 'Darbār Sāhib' (the holy Sikh Darbār); the 'Granth Sāhib' (the holy book of the Sikhs); and so on

(*c*) As a term of familiarity and chiding. In these senses it has been used chiefly by Hindī and Urdū writers :

(familiarity) کہو صاحب کیسے رہے

(chiding) کیوں صاحب پھر وہی لچھن

(*d*) As a general term of respect.

[3] A Persian compound—coined by Humāyūn and used by Gulbadan Bégum in her work Humāyūn Nāma.

Word.		Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
ڈاک چوکی [1]	(dāk chauki).	A post station.	Altogether unknown.
ڈاک خانہ [2]	(dāk khāna).	Post Office.	Ditto. Persian equivalent is چاپار خانه which is Turkish.
جھکڑ [3]	(Jhakkar)	Violent wind.	Unknown.
جھروکہ درشن [4]	(Jharūka darshan).	King's gallery.	Ditto.
شاهزاده [5]	(Shāhzāda)	Prince : (restricted to male members only).	Also used for female members of the royal house.
سلطان [6]	(Sultān)	King : (restricted to male members only).	Ditto.

1 A Hindi compound—used by Abul Fazl ; Badāūnī ; Nizāmuddin Ahmad, and others ; Cf Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 166, Calcutta, 1913.

2 Ibid.

3 Pure Hindi—used by 'Urfi—Cf :

در چادتکه از شبنم گل گره نشانسی * آن باده که در هند اگر آید جکر آید

4 A pure Hindī compound—used by Abul Fazl in Ā'īn i Akbarī. Cf ; Ā'īn i Bar : 'آئین بار'

5-6 Their use by Indian writers has been restricted to the male members of the royal house—while Persians make no such distinction. Cf. the use of 'شاهزاده' and 'سلطان' by the author of 'Ālam Ārā i 'Abbāsī for Shāh Ismā'īl's sister ; while Abul Fazl, Badāūnī, and Farishta always distinguish between a male and a female, and write 'شاهزادي' and 'سلطانه' for a princess.

Word.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
كتهره[1] (katahrah)	A wire-fence or cage.	Unknown.
گهڑي[2] (gharī) ...	Time or hour of the clock: also clock itself.	,,
سه هزاري[3] (seh hazārī) پنج هزاري (panj hazārī) هفت هزاري (haft hazārī) كروري (karōrī).	Words coined in the reign of Akbar to denote respective ranks of nobles.	,,

1 A pure Hindī word used with Persian ' 'izāfat ' by the author of Miftāh ut Tawārīkh : Cf :

روزي پادشاه فيضي را كه بملازمت رفته بود بيرون كتهرهٔ نقاره استاده كرد

2 Same as above :
Used by Bābur in his Turkī Memoirs (Cf. fol. 289-90). Also used by Abul Fazl. Cf. Ā'īn i Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 9 :

و در بيشتر آبادي از نه زياده و از هشت گهڑي كم نبوده

3 We read these Persian compounds in the works written after the reign of Humāyūn, and they are apparently the invention of Akbar's minister, Abul Fazl, who used them in the Akbar Nāma, Ā'īn-ī Akbarī, and other official and private documents. Their use was continued by all contemporary and later historians in the reign of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jāhān, and Aurangzēb.

Words.	Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
ڈولي [1] (dōlī) ...	A woman's conveyance : a sort of palanquin.	Unknown.
گز [2] (gaz) ...	A yard for measuring cloth or distance.	(Persian equivalent : ذراع).
تهانجات [3] (Thāna jāt plural of 'thāna ')	Police stations.	Unknown.
روشنائي [4] (Rūshnāī') ...	Ink.	Used in the sense of 'light.' Persian equivalent for ink is 'مرکب' [murakkab].
اُگال [5] (ugāl) ...	Spittle after chewing a beetle leaf.	Unknown.

[1] A pure Hindī word used by Abul Fazl—Cf. Akbar Nāma, Vol. III, p 610 : also Cf. Farishta, p 422.

وچوں درچند دولي كه پيش ميبروند حمعي از پير زالان نشسته بود

[2] Same as above : Cf. Ā'īn i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 157.

[3] Same as above : Used by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad—Cf. Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 166.

[4] Used in India in the sense of ' ink '; in Persia in the sense of ' light.'

[5] A pure Hindī word used by Zuhūri : Cf. his verse :

هره چهرا زرد خورشيد آل * دهندش اگر نازنيناں اگال

Words.		Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
چیله [1]	(chēla)	A disciple ..	Persian equivalent : مرید - شاگرد
رام رنگي [2]	(rām-rangī)	Wine	Unknown Persian equivalent : باده شراب می - صهبا
رنگتره [3]	(rangtara)	Orange	Unknown Persian equivalent : نارنج
کچهري [4]	(kachahrī)	Court of Justice	Unknown Persian equivalent : ایوان عدالت
دونه [5]	(dauna) ...	A bowl made of green leaves.	Unknown.

1 Same as above used by Abul Fazl, Farishta and others.

2 A Hindī compound coined by Jahāngīr for 'wine,' and used in that sense in Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī ; also by Tālib Āmulī in the *following* verse :

نه ایم منکر صهبا ولیک میگویم * که رامرنگي ماشئه دگردارد

3 A Persian compound similarly coined by Jahāngīr for 'orange.'

4 A Hindī word used by Badāūnī—Cf. Vol. II, p. 311.

5 Same as above—used by the author of Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī : Or. 197, B. M., f. 64b,

وآں مار را بدست گرفت وزهرار هربرگی که سه دونه ساخته بود انداخت

Words.		Sense attached in India.	Sense attached in Persia.
شاه بھائی [1]	(shāh bhā'ī)	An epithet of Akbar.	Unknown
پہاڑی راجہ [2]	(pahārī Rā-ja).	An epithet of Murād.	ditto
شیخو جیو [3]	(shaikhū ji-yo).	An epithet of Jahāngīr.	ditto

A good many other words like "تاهم" (*tā-ham*) meaning 'still,' Persian equivalent "باینهمه"; "حقه" (*huqqa*) meaning 'smoke-pipe,' Persian equivalent "قلیان"; "غصه" (*ghussa*) meaning 'anger,' Persian equivalent "خشم"; and so forth used in India, may be quoted. While in Persia a good many words and phrases of Turkish, French, and Russian origin like 'قشون' (T.) meaning 'troops'; "ایلات" plural of "ایل" (T.) meaning *nomadic tribes*; "گمرک" (T.) a custom house; "قشنگ" (T.) beautiful; "ییلاق" and "قشلاق" (T.) winter and summer resorts; "اطاق" (T.) a hall or chamber; "مسیو" (F.) Mr. or Sir; "درشکه" and "کالسکه" (R.) vehicles drawn by horses; —and many fresh idioms and compounds under the same influences were gradually introduced into the language and found complete favour with Persian authors.

1 A Persian-Hindī compound used by Shāh Jahān in his childhood as an epithet for Akbar

2 A pure Hindī name given by Akbar to Murād.

3 A Persian-Hindī compound used as a title for Jahāngīr by Akbar [Nafā'isul Ma'āsir, B. M. MSS. Or., 1761, fol. 53b.]

CHAPTER VIII

From Bābur's time down to Aurangzeb's there is a brilliant row of poets who kept migrating to India from Persia, Bukhāra, Samarqand, Herāt, and Turkistān, being attracted by the munificence of the Mughal and the Deccan courts. Along with them the centre of Persian poetry gradually shifted to India. Their efforts combined with those of the indigenous writers in the field of Persian prose and poetry equal and in certain phases excel those of the Persians themselves, and for this the Mughal period in India stands conspicuous in the history of Persian literature. For a good deal of time Persia had a poor show and compared ill with India both in quality and quantity of the work produced. Nearly all good poets and writers of Persian language since Bābur's great ancestor, Timūr, had come down, or were thinking of coming, to India, and communicating with its rulers. Even the foremost poet and scholar of Bābur's time—Jāmī—who is styled as 'the head of the poet-band,' like his predecessor Hāfiz who flourished in the time of Timūr, was aspiring for India.

Relation of Persian poets with India.

Hāfiz was invited by his neighbour Sultān Ahmad of Baghdad[1] to come his to his court, but he did not choose to leave his native town, although it was not at a great distance. In the meantime he was summoned by Sultān Mahmūd of Deccan and he made for the nearest Persian port, embarked on a ship sent him by the Bahmani king, and but

Hāfiz longing for Deccan.

[1] Dawlat Shāh, Tadhkiratush Shu'ūra, edited by Browne, p. 304. Ibid

for the accident of a cyclone would have reached India.[1] All this was due to what he had heard of the boundless patronage of the king from some of his contemporary poets one of whom had just returned from Deccan to Persia.[2] He must have described to Hāfiz the talents of the king who was a lover of Persian poetry and a scholar besides. His court was a resort of poets and men of letters from all parts of Persia, Arabia, and Turkistān. It was for this reason that Hāfiz showed his readiness and expressed his desire to visit Deccan to some of the traders who were going from Shīrāz to India, and they reported this to the king through his learned minister Mīr Faizullāh Injū who readily sent him the expenses of the voyage with rich presents.[3] On abandoning the voyage due to a storm which affrighted Hāfiz he composed an ode and sent it to Mīr Faizullāh. The line in which he gives his reason for not sailing is as follows:

[4]بس آسان می نمود اول غم دریا ببوی دُر
غلط گفتم که یک موجش بصد گوهر نمی ارزد

At first the risk of the sea in the hope of a pearl
appeared to be very easy,
I spoke amiss for a single wave thereof is not
worth a hundred pearls.

When the ode reached Mīr Faizullāh in Deccan, he presented it to his master Sultān Mahmūd Bahmanī who out of respect for the poet sent him a rich reward for his attempt to see him. Farishta writes thus of this incident:

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1 Farishta, p. 577.
2 Ibid.,p. 576.
3 Ibid , p, 577.
4 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 42, Calcutta, 1891.

[1] و چون این غزل به میر فیض‌الله رسید روزے
تقریبے کرده در مجلس سلطان محمود شاه قصه
خواجه را از آمدن بهر موز وبرگشتن و غزل فرستادن
بتفصیل باز گفت سلطان فرمود چون خواجه بقصد
دریافت مجلس ما قدم در راه نهاده بود برما واجب
و فرض است که او را از فیض خود محروم نسازیم
پس ملا محمد قاسم مشهدی را که از فضلاي آن دولتخانه
بود هزار تنکه طلا بتحویل نموده تا انواع امتعه هند
خرید کرده براي خواجه حافظ بشیراز برد

And when this ode reached Mīr Faizullāh he had one day taken an opportunity to relate in detail in the court of Sultān Mahmud Shāh the story of Hāfiz, his coming to Hurmuz, and returning, and sending the ode. The Sultān said, "Since the Khwāja had put his step in the way with intent to come to our court, it is essential and incumbent on us that we should not deprive him of our benevolence." So he gave to Mullā Mahmūd Qasim Mashhadī who was one of the literati of his court, a thousand 'tankah' of gold in weight to purchase varıteies of Indian presents and carry them to Khwāja Hāfiz at Shīraz.

His connection with Bengal.

The ruler of Bengal Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn also was in communication with Hāfiz, and received his verses every now and then. Once he sent him the following hemistich at Shīräz requesting him to build an ode on ıt:

---

[2] Farishta, p. 578.

ساقي حديث سرو وگل و لاله ميرود[1]

O cup-bearer! the tale of the cypress and the rose and the tulip[2] goeth.

Hāfiz readily complied with his request and sent him the ode which not only was much appreciated by the Sultān but also considered as revelational. The lines bearing on the subject are as follows:

ساقي حديث سرو وگل و لاله ميرود[3]
وين بحث با ثلاثة غساله ميرود
شكر شكن شوند همه طوطيان هند
زين قند پارسى كه به بنگاله ميرود
طي زمان ببين ومكان درطريق عشق
كين طفل يكشبه ره يكساله ميرود
حافظ ز شوق مجلس سلطان غياثدين
خامش مشو كه كار تو از ناله ميرود

---

1 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 62, ut supra

2 The 'cypress,' 'the tulip,' and the 'rose' were the names of three beautiful slave girls in the Sultān's 'harem' One day they were taunted by other rival girls as being 'ghassālah' (or body-washers), since they had once washed the king's body being so desired by him during his illness. The taunt which was much resented by the girls was due to the jealousy for their having found favour with the Sultān. They therefore brought the complaint to him who then being in his poetic mood uttered the above hemistich but could not make it into a couplet He referred it to other poets at his court but they too failed to satisfy him. He thereupon sent it to Hāfiz at Shīrāz.

3 Dīwān i Hāfiz, p. 62.

Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Pūrbī—who ruled from 1367 to 1377 A.D.—had his pital at Kūr From Shīrāz to this place it was supposed to be a year's journey.

O cup-bearer! the tale of the cypress and the rose and the tulip goeth,
And this is the subject of dispute with the three washer-maids;
All the parrots of Hind would become sugar-scattering,
Owing to this sugar-candy that goes to Bengal;
See the swift traversing over 'time' and 'place' on the path of love,
That this infant—a night old—is on its way to a journey of one year;
O Hāfiz through the eager desire for Sultān Ghiyās-uddīn's court,
Don't be silent, since thy affair is now going beyond lamentation.

Jāmī seeking patronage from Deccan.

Jāmī also was similarly in touch with the Indian courts. One instance of his sending an ode to a grandee in Deccan and awaiting his appreciation and patronage is to be found in the following extract:

[1] طبع گوياي من آں طوطي شکر شکن است
که ز خونابۀ دل لعل بود منقارش
جامي اشعار دلاويز تو حسنی است نفيس
بود آں حسن ادا لطف معاني نارش

---

1 Kulliyāt i Jāmī, p. 274, Lucknow, 1298
Shaikh Mahmūd Gāwān was renowned for his boundless liberalities and talents. He is called Malik ut Tujjār (or the king of merchants) because in his youth he had travelled to several countries as a high merchant Himself a poet and a great writer, he has left a work on epistolography—called "Riyāzul Inshā," and a Dīwān consisting of lyric poetry. He held the high office of "Vakīl" (or Deputy) under Nizām Shāh and Muhammad Shāh, and for a time held supreme sway in the Kingdom of Gulbarga.

همره قافله هند روان کن که رسد
شرف مهر قبول از ملك‌التجارش

My eloquent disposition is that sugar-scattering parrot,
That its beak is red with the blood of its heart ;
Jāmī thy attractive verses are a fine commodity,
Its warpings are from beauty of expression, and its threads from nicety of meaning ;
Send them along with the caravan of Hind, so that to them may reach,
The excellence of the honour of acceptance from the 'king of merchants.'

Among Bābur's contemporaries there were many who came to India, and wrote their works here under the Indian patronage. No parallel instance is to be found in history of a period prior to his in which poets and scholars of Persian language migrated to India in such large numbers. It is mostly from his regime or the advent of the Mughal rule that the Persian language in India has acquired its own significance.

———

CHAPTER IX

The following titles, with the exception of the last one, were given to Bābur during the period of his rule commencing from the date of his accession to the throne of Farghānā down to his last breath in 937 A H., at Āgra :—

Bābur's titles

1. Zahīruddīn (the strengthener of the faith)
2. Pādishāh (a vassal king, *vide* p. 37, supra)
3. Nawāb (*Vide* p. 146, supra)
4. Ghāzī (victor in a holy war)
5. Shahinshāh (king of kings)
6. Qalandar (a dervish)
7. Sultān (a king)
8. Khāqān (title of the emperor of China)
9. Firdaus-makānī (dwelling in paradise)

Zahīruddīn

There is some confusion between his name and this title. Some historians write that he was originally named Zahīruddīn and subsequently called Bābur. Thus says Lane-Poole :—

> "As the ill-educated Mongols could not pronounce his Arabic name Zahīruddīn Muhammad, they dubbed him Bābur."[1]

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[1] Bābur, p 22, ut supra

Note.—This view is based on Abul Fazl's statement in the Akbar Nāma while Haidar Mīrzā Dughlāt in his Tārīkh i Rashīdī holds just the opposite view Cf

التماس نام از حضرت ایشان قدس سرہ نمودہ اند بخطاب ظہیرالدین محمد بدشواری جاری شد بابر نام نہادہ ناد -

They have begged his holiness for the name His title Zahīruddīn Muhammad became current with difficulty. His holiness has

The same view is expressed by Rushbrook-Williams who merely copied Lane-Poole. Their only support is Abul Fazl whose authority is evidently weak and is not backed by any historian of Bābur's time. Gulbadan Begum, Bābur's own daughter, has, like Haidar Mīrzā, very clearly stated that Bābur was the name :—

[1] حضرت فردوس مکانی......قبل از تولد حضرت
همایون پادشاه میرزا بابر موسوم و مرسوم بودند -

> His Majesty, Firdaus-makānī, before the birth of Humāyūn Pādishāh, had been named and styled Mīrza Bābur.

Farishta also, Abul Fazl's contemporary, strongly supports Gulbadan Begum and declares that "Zahīrud-dīn" was a title taken 11 years after, on the coronation day. The versions of Haidar Mīrzā and Gulbadan Begum are perhaps the only contemporary records that throw light on the subject, and are the basis for all subsequent views held by later historians.

Pādishāh

He assumed this title on his return to Cabul in 913 A.H., after Shaibānī Khān's abandonment of Qandhār :

> "Up to that date people had styled Timūr Bēg's descendants "Mīrzā" even when they were ruling ; now I ordered that people should style me as "Pādishāh."[2]

---

named him Bābur.

Haidar Mīrzā lived in Bābur's time, and is the most reliable authority on the subject

1 Humāyūn Nāma, p 9, London, 1902.

2 Memoirs of Bābur, p. 344.

This shows that he was the first in the line of Timūr to assume this title which was never before used by any member of that house.

Nawāb.

In his Chief Secretary Shaikh Zain's letter of victory over Rānā Sānga, which Bābur highly appreciated and reproduced in his Memoirs, he was styled as Nawāb :–

[1] فتاح بي منت و فياض بي علت مجدداً بمفتاح فتح ابواب فيض بر چهره آمال نواب نصرت مال كشود

The Opener who gives without obligation and the bounteous who bestows without cause, has anew, with the key of victory, opened the doors of bounty on the face of hopes of our victorious Nawāb

[2] اكثر طوائف اقوام از اصحاب كفر و ارباب اسلام اطاعت و انقياد نواب فرخنده فرجام ما را اختيار نموده –

Many groups of nations from among the pagans and Muslims have adopted submission and obedience to our fortunate Nawāb.

[3] اما سنكا كافر كه در سوابق ايام دم اطاعت نواب خجسته انجام ما ميزد اكنون بمضمون "ابى و استكبر و كان من الكافرين" نموده شيطان صفت سر كشيده –

---

1 Bābur Nāma, fol. 316b

2 Ibid., fol. 317a.

3 Ibid.

But Sānga, the pagan, who breathed in earlier times submission to our Nawābship of fortunate end . . .

Ghāzī.

This he earned for himself in 933 A.H., after the above victory :

After this success Ghāzī was written among the royal titles [1]

He also mentions it as a valuable achievement in one of his Turkī poems :

[2] اسلام کو چون آوارہ یاری بولدوم
کفار و هنود حرب سازی بولدوم
حزم ایلاب ایدیم اوزنی شهید او لماقغہ
الحمدللہ کہ غازی بولدوم

For Islam's sake, I wandered in the wilds,
Prepared for war with pagans and the Hindūs ;
Resolved myself to meet the martyr's death,
Thanks be to God a Ghāzī I became.

Shahinshāh.

He was on several occasions styled in the royal 'farmans' as 'Shahinshāh' :

[3] پیش از طلوع آفتاب دولت پادشاهی و قبل از سطوع نیر خلافت شهنشاهی -

Previous to the rising of the sun of kingship and the emergence of the light of the star of Shahinshāh's khalifate . . .

It appears in poetry also :

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, p 574.
2 Dīwān-i-Bābur Pādishāh, plate xlv.
3 Bābur Nāma, fol. 317a.

[1]ران رخنه لا طبائع و سهم
چو رای شهنشاه و دین قویم

In that array no rent was frayed by timid souls;
Firm was it as the Shahinshāh's resolve, strong as
the Faith. (Beveridge)

After his victory at Pānīpat he distributed the enormous wealth gained as booty so liberally among people both in and outside India that he seemed to keep nothing for himself, and was consequently called 'qalandar.'[2] It is originally a title of a particular section among Sūfīs known as 'qalandariyah.' Those who belong to this order are called 'qalandars.' In broad sense it signifies a holy man who is unchecked in the exercise of his spiritual powers, and chooses to remain in voluntary poverty.

Qalandar.

These two along with 'Zahīruddīn,' 'Pādishāh,' and 'Ghāzī' were stamped on his coins struck at Lahore and Āgra in the years 935 and 936 A.H. The inscription is as follows:

Sultān and Khāqān.

[3] السلطان الاعظم و الخاقان المکرم ظهیرالدین
محمد بابر پادشاه غازی –

The latter like his title of 'Shahinshāh' was also given him in state documents:

[4]مقارن این حالت فرمان حضرت خاقان به پیش
راندن ارابهاء غول بنغان رسید –

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1 Ibid., fol. 319a.

2 A. S Beveridge, Introduction to the History of Humāyūn, p. 6, London, 1902. Also cf. Erskine, Bābur and Humāyūn, Vol I, p. 440; and Lane-Poole, Bābur, p. 68

3 J. C. Brown, Coins of India, Vol II, p. 1, Oxford, 1920.

4 Bābur Nāma, fol. 323a.

Simultaneously with this came an order from His Majesty the Khāqān that the carts of the centre should be advanced.

This is his posthumous title. It is a novel Indian invention evidently the outcome of a more refined taste.

Firdaus-makānī.

Ever since after his death he has been remembered by this courteous appellation which in the course of time gained so much popularity that his own name Bābur was practically hushed up by the later Mughal historians and other indigenous writers in their records. It was also imitated by his successors in India and the custom prevailed till last. Even women of this house were given after death similar titles, *e.g.*, Akbar's mother was called '*Maryam-makānī*' (dwelling with Mary). It throws ample light on the taste acquired by the intellectual camp in India.

CHAPTER X

His religion, character, and death

He was a Sunnī by religion and a follower of Imām Muhammad Abū Hanīfah :

و در علم فقه حنفي مجتهد بود -[1]

And in the Hanafī law and jurisprudence he was a *Mujtahid.*[2]

و کتابي دارد در فقه حنفي مبين نام و شيخ زين شرحي بران نوشته -[3]

And there is a book of his on Hanafī jurisprudence entitled Mubin[4] (Mubayyan) and Shaikh Zain has written a commentary on it.

His own action in issuing coins at Āgra and Lahore dated 935 and 936 A.H., bearing the names of Khulafa-i-Rāshidīn,[5] is a practical proof of his Sunnī orthodoxy.

He died at Āgra in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.) leaving his kingdom to Humāyūn. The following chronogram was at once composed by his court poets :

تاريخ وفات شاه بابر * در نهصد و سي و هفت بوده[6]

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1 Farishta, p. 390

2 A rank attained by a scholar in theology, who by virtue of his competent knowledge is regarded as an authority on the subject and privileged to pass judgments which are accepted as final. Technically it is applied to a Shī'a theologian

3 Badāūnī, Vol I, p. 343

4 Transcribed as such by A. S. Beveridge in her translation of Bābur's Turkī Memoirs. The correct transcription is 'Mubayyan.'

5 J C Brown, Coins of India, p. 1

6 Badāūnī, Vol I, p. 341

The date of the death of Shāh Bābur,
Was in the year 937.

It is noteworthy that people have since shown an ever-increasing tendency for this sort of composition which in Indian atmosphere grew as an art, and was treated as a special branch of Persian poetry. In his last will he had declared the throne for Humāyūn, and calling his principal chiefs had put their hands in Humāyūn's in token of investiture. After death his body was conveyed to Cābul and buried there in a garden high up on a hill outside the city.

He was a man of strenuous energy, resolution and perseverance, and led constantly a hard and restless life. At the same time he was courteous, large-hearted, and full of generosity and fellow-feeling. His taste for literature is determined by his *diwan* and *auto-biography,* which amply demonstrate his ambition to unite in him valour and learning, and achieve a name in both.

Of all his sons he loved Humāyūn most. Once Humāyūn's mother noticing Bābur's overwhelming grief at Humāyūn's illness tried to pacify him by saying that he had other sons also, and should not therefore feel so despondent and gloomy. To this Bābur's reply was the following :

His love for Humāyūn, and his prayer at the latter's sick-bed.

[1] ماهم اگرچه فرزندان دیگر دارم اما هیچ فرزندے
برابر همایون تو دوست نمیدارم از برای آنکه سلطنت
و پادشاهي و دنیای‌روشن از برای .... برخوردار
فرزند دلبند همایون میخواهم نه برای دیگران -

Māhim, although I have other sons I love none as I love your Humāyūn. For that reason

[1] Gulbadan Begum, Humāyūn Nāmah, p 21, ut supra.

> I desire the kingdom and royalty and the bright world for my dear son Humāyūn and not for others.

His illness and death are ascribed to the wilful surrender of his own life to save that of Humāyūn. When Humāyūn was dangerously ill, Bābur out of parental love walked round the sick-bed three times uttering a prayer which is described by Gulbadan Bēgum as follows :

> [2] و در روندۀ مذکور دعا خواستند که خدایا اگر
> بعوض جان جان مبدل شود من که بابر ام عمر و جان
> خود را به همایون بخشیدم

> And while going round as has already been said he prayed saying :
> O, God if a life may be exchanged for a life, I, who am Bābur, I give my life and my being for Humāyūn.

He then turned his face to Humāyūn and exclaimed, "On me be all that thou art suffering," and then cried out, "I have prevailed : I have taken it." The strange effect of this prayer was that Bābur fell ill the very day and Humāyūn recovered :

> [3] در همان روز حضرت فردوس مکانی را تشویش شد
> و همایون پادشاه برسر خود آب ریختند و بیرون
> آمده بار دادند -

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

BĀBUR IN PRAYER AT THE SICK-BED OF HUMĀYŪN.

That very day Firdaus-makānī felt indisposed, and Humāyūn poured water on his head, and came out and gave audience.

Erskine's tribute to Bābur.

"Zahīruddīn Muhammad was undoubtedly one of the illustrious men of his age and one of the most eminent and accomplished Princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. We find few Princes entitled to rank higher than Bābur in genius and accomplishments. In his love of letters and his success of them we shall probably find no other Asiatic Prince who can justly be placed beside him."

Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
For now he lies in fame.

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